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INDIA'S NEEDS

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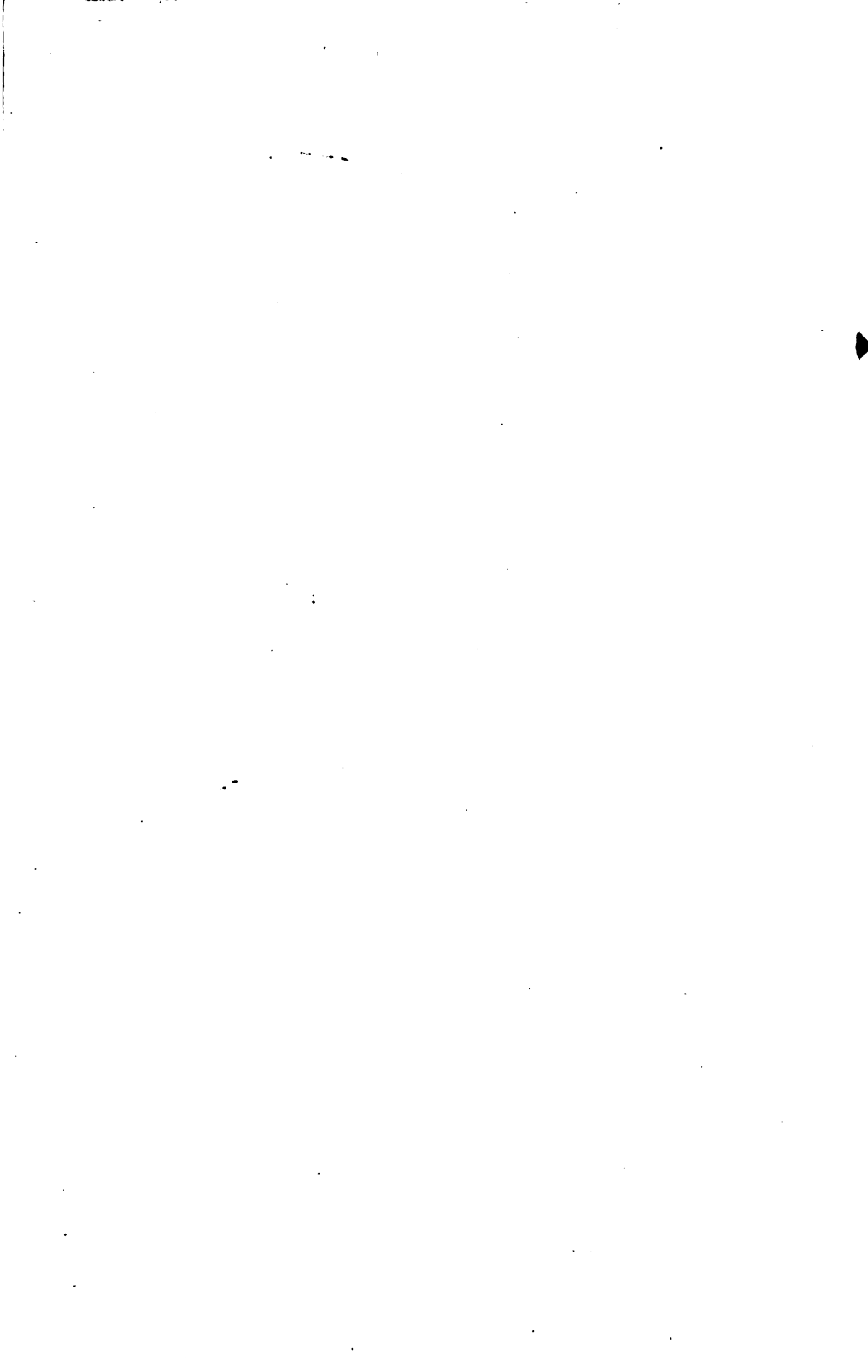
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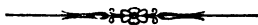
JOHN MURDOCH, LL.D.

"The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community!"

Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I.

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves,"

Hon. W. W. Hunter, LL.D., C.S.I.



MADRAS:

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PREFATORY NOTE.

It is an encouraging sign that never before in India were so many of her sons interested in her welfare, and never before did their efforts on her behalf promise to be attended with greater results.

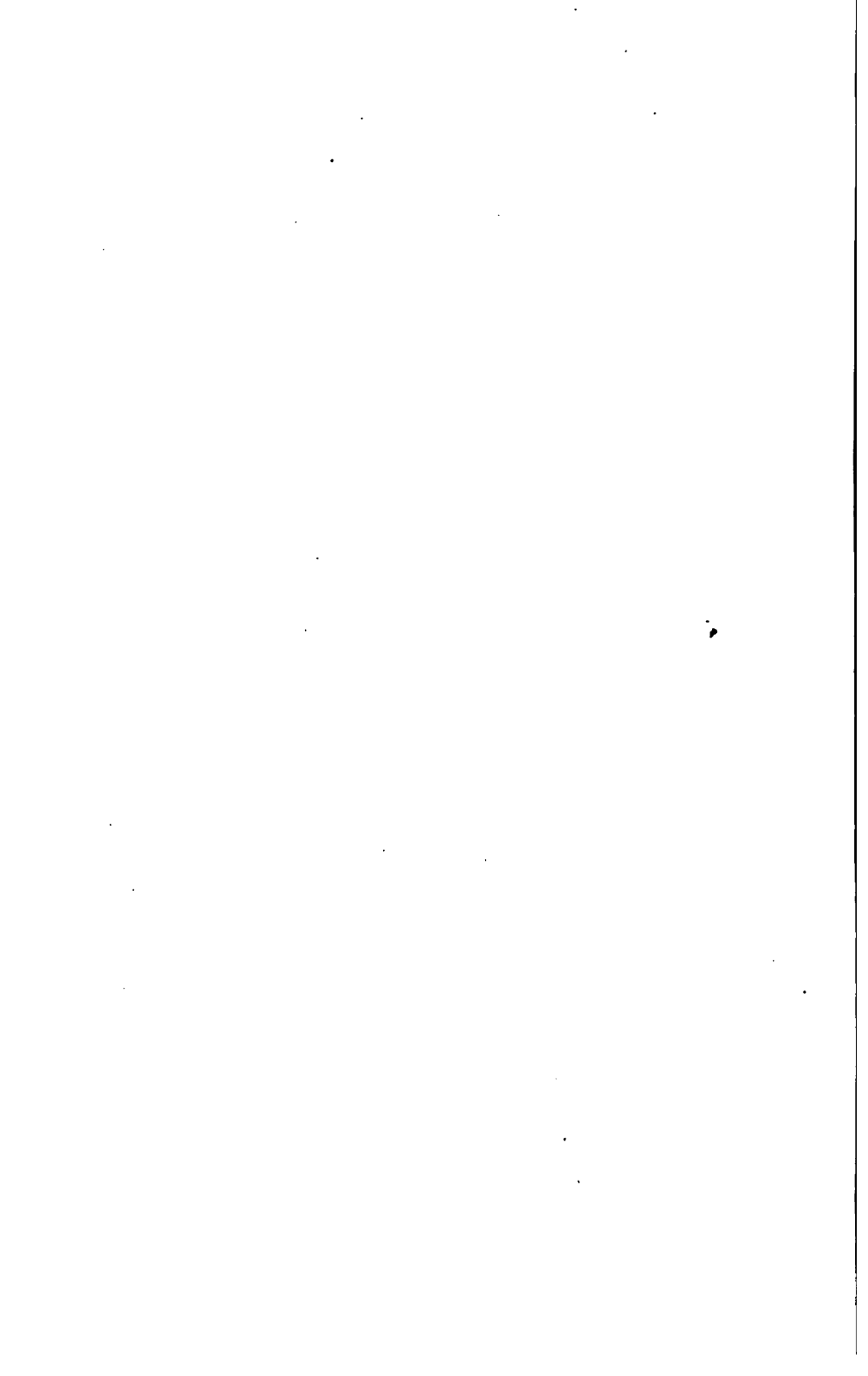
It is of the utmost importance that the labours of reformers should be wisely directed. Changes may be proposed which would be mischievous instead of beneficial; attention may be given to matters of comparatively little importance, while those on which the well-being of the country mainly depends may be neglected.

In the land of caste, there is great danger of a false patriotism taking the form of race hatred. Those who try to sow discord between Europeans and Natives are no true friends of either.

Some persons assert that India is becoming poorer and poorer under British rule. That the reverse is the case, is proved in the following pages. No one can deny that she is growing in knowledge; it is equally true that she is growing in wealth. At the same time, it is admitted that millions, as before, are on the verge of starvation, and that the food supply must be increased to meet the wants of the country.

The interests of Natives and Europeans are identical. Both should work heartily together to promote the prosperity of India, and may the great "Governor among the nations" crown their efforts with success!

MADRAS, *January 15th, 1886.*



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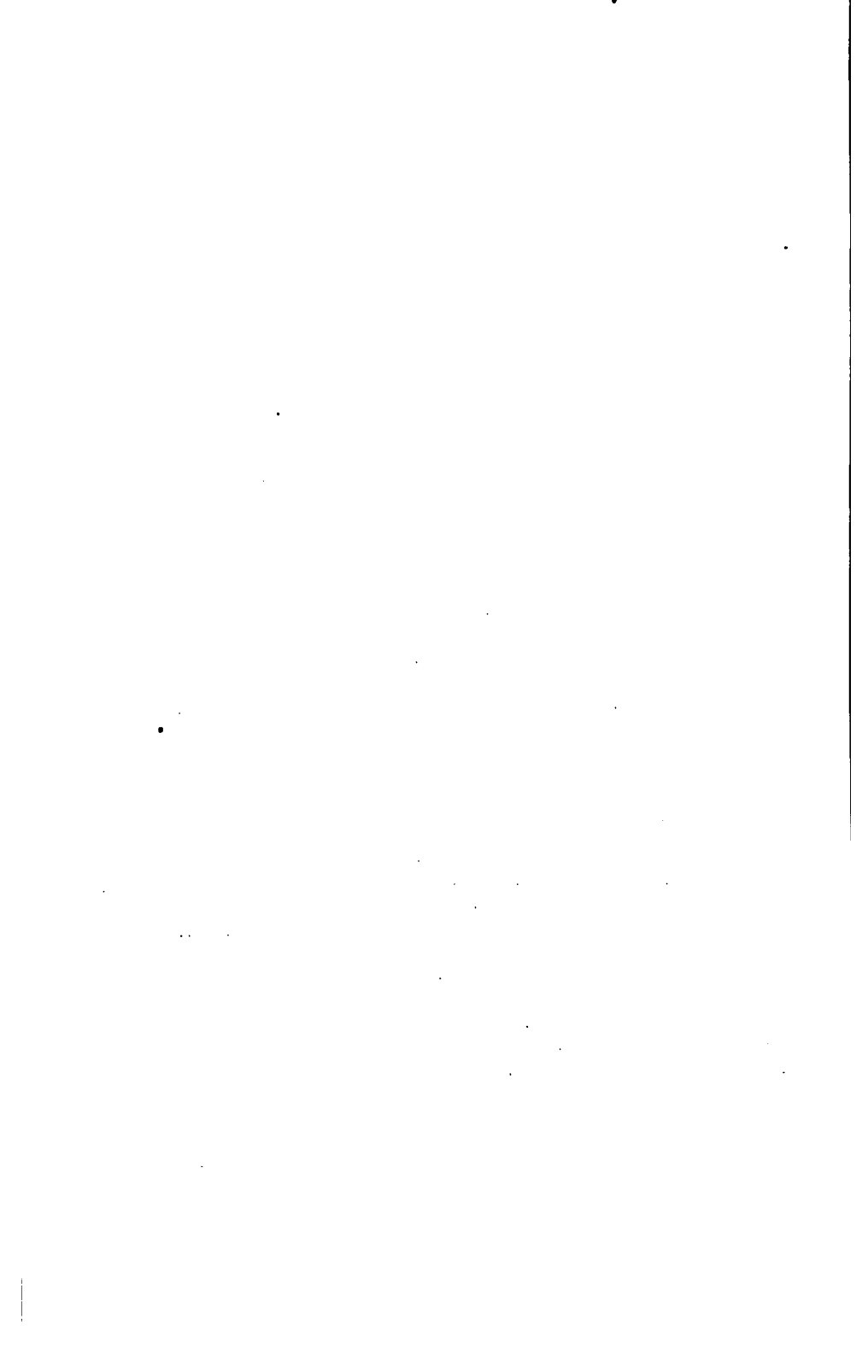
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INDIA'S NEEDS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE DIFFICULTY OF GOVERNING INDIA.

India contains one-sixth of the earth's population—double the number that ever acknowledged the sway of Imperial Rome. They are bone of our bone ; flesh of our flesh ; toiling, struggling, fainting like ourselves in the battle of life. Wave after wave of invasion has swept over their country ; they have been crushed under the heel of the oppressor ; sometimes the heaven that is over them is as brass, and the earth under them as iron, and millions lie down to die.

The difficulties connected with the government of India are in proportion to the needs of its people. Addressing an English audience, Lord Churchill justly said :—

“Your rule in India is, as it were, a sheet of oil spread over the surface, and keeping calm and quiet and unruffled by storms an immense and profound ocean of humanity. Underneath your rule are surging up the memories of good dynasties, all the fanaticism of rival creeds, all the baffled aspirations of many nationalities, and it is your most difficult task to give peace, individual security, and general prosperity to 250 millions of people who are affected by these powerful forces, to bind them and weld them by the influence of your knowledge, your laws, your higher civilization, and in the process of time into one great united people.”

Lord Dufferin, in his Belfast speech, thus pointed out the arduous duties he was about to undertake :—

“The Government of India is not only a laborious task ; it is one presenting problems of the very greatest doubt and intricacy from day to day. The most complex questions are submitted to the attention of the Executive, which, from their very nature, are incapable of an altogether satisfactory solution, and in regard to which the choice lies, not between the absolutely good and the absolutely bad, but is dependent upon such a delicate comparison of advantage and disadvantage upon either side as to render it very difficult for even those who have every opportunity of acquainting themselves with the elements of the case to discriminate between them. Out of these circumstances must arise a vast amount of intelligent and conscientious criticism, and while on the one hand it can scarcely be expected that he who is ultimately responsible for what

happens will be invariably in the right, it is certain that he will frequently appear to many intelligent observers to be altogether in the wrong. Hence it must inevitably follow that very conflicting estimates will be formed of the success with which the Governor-General of the day is conducting the arduous administration over which he presides."

He calls attention to a point which is often forgotten :—

"Above all, let me remind you that when dealing with such vast subjects as those which occupy the statesman of Calcutta when handling the tremendous forces which are evolved out of the complicated and multitudinous political systems which exist within the borders of the Indian peninsula, when endeavouring to mould by slow and cautious efforts the most ancient, the most continuous, and the most artificially organized civilisation to be found on the face of the earth into forms that shall eventually harmonize more and more with those conceptions which the progress of science and the result of experience have shown to be conducive to human happiness, the result of the ruler's exertions and the flower of his achievements are seldom perceptible at the moment, but far more frequently bring forth their fruit long after those that tilled the field and sowed the seed have rested from their unrecognized and sometimes depreciated labours."

While Governments have their faults, they are often subjected to much ignorant and unjust criticism. In every alehouse in England "village politicians," muddled with beer, may be heard at times denouncing the folly and wickedness of British statesmen. Everywhere, sons are apt to consider themselves wiser than their fathers. The same self-conceit leads young men, fresh from school, to suppose that they could govern a country better than its actual rulers. More than two thousand years ago, Glaukon, a Greek, not twenty years of age, thought he could improve the administration of the Athenian Republic. His friends tried in vain, by means of ridicule, to dissuade him from addressing the people. At last Socrates took him in hand. He asked him question after question about things necessary to be known by all who would govern a country, which the young man could not answer. The moral drawn was, "What a dangerous thing it is to meddle, either in word or in act, with what one does not know."

To rule well even a single household requires much wisdom. It is a proverb that things occasionally go wrong even in the best regulated families. To govern a single nation is no easy task. The difficulty is vastly increased when, as in India, an empire contains many nations, speaking different languages, and professing different religions. Every sensible man will make allowances for the circumstances of the case, instead of cavilling and attacking Government for every imaginary error.

It must be admitted that there is much in British rule which the people cannot understand and must even dislike. The Hindu is intensely conservative; he wishes to follow the customs of his

forefathers : the watchword of the English is progress. According to native ideas, it is princely to maintain large numbers of men for mere show : to scatter money among the populace ; to have frequent costly *tamashas*. On the other hand, such things are condemned by Europeans as leading to the increased oppression of the industrious poor. All the wealth of kings comes from the people. If a prince has numerous attendants living in idleness, the ryots have to work the harder to provide them with food. So with money thrown to the rabble. The ex-Gaikwar of Baroda squandered large sums on silver and gold cannon, but the ryots were ground down by his exactions. The policy of the British Government is to make every man work for his living, and to spend money only on useful objects. The ignorant and bigoted observers of caste must everywhere dislike the English as impure Mlechchas.

Some of the most beneficent measures of Government are attributed to low selfish motives. Some years ago the writer asked an intelligent Madrassee what the people thought of the water-supply project. He said that they looked upon it simply as a pretext for imposing another tax, or to use their words, "laying another burden upon our shoulders." This complaint applies to not a few from whom better things might be expected.

Sir George Campbell, while Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, sought to improve the poor physique of the students by gymnastic exercises. A Native Editor saw in this a deep laid plot to use up the strength of the Bengalis that they might not be able to compete with Europeans in Civil Service examinations ! Instead of studying when they went home, the students would be so exhausted that they would lie down to sleep.

When Lord Mayo established an Agricultural Department, a Calcutta paper remarked, "Yes, new departments must be formed to open up a wider field for the extension of vice-regal patronage."

According to *The Liberal*, another Calcutta journal, the same spirit prevails under the administration of Lord Dufferin :—

"Useless offices, however extravagantly paid, continue to flourish ; the most extravagant salaries remain untouched ; and new offices still are created with the most extravagant scale of salaries. And why ? Because the members of the bureaucracy and their relations are to be provided for at the public expense." Nov. 8th, 1885.

Ready credence is given by some to any cock-and-bull stories to the prejudice of Europeans. *The Arya Patrika*, a Punjab paper, has the following, quoted, it would appear, from a Calcutta journal. Not only do the English slaughter and eat animals,

"They flay them alive—horses, sheep, dogs, cats, and so on. Some of them are first starved, to lessen their powers of resistance, and when exhausted with hunger and fatigue are nailed to boards, and stripped of their coats alive and left to die as well as they can. In short, no animals

of value is (*sic*) spared this cruel fate, and as a Calcutta paper remarks, all this is done under 'the very nose of Christianity (*sic*)!'" Oct. 24, 1885.

The *Edinburgh Review* truly remarks, "Nor will the best intentions and the highest administrative principles in India save a government from incessant misrepresentation and violent calumny."*

Similar low motives are attributed by some of the native Papers to the most distinguished Indians, if they do not yield to the popular clamour. When they condemned singling out individuals for support as parliamentary candidates or otherwise, *The Indian Mirror* had the following remarks :

"Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, Bart., C. S. I., Mr. Dossabhoy Framji, C. S. I., of Bombay, Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao, K. C. S. I., of Madras, and Rajah Shiva Prasad of Benares, are too much dazzled with the titles they have received and are too prone to please men in power to discern clearly what is their true duty to their sovereign and to their country."

The Interpreter remarks,

"If men like Sir Rivers Thompson feel aggrieved by the unmodified and unmitigated vilification continually pouring upon their heads, whether they do good or bad, they have the consolation of knowing that men like Rajah Sir Madhava Rao have the same treatment meted out to them." Dec. 1885.

The difficulties of the Indian Government are greatly increased by sensational articles in home periodicals, headed, "Spoliation of India," "Bleeding to Death," &c.,—the very reverse of the truth. The writers, whatever may be their motives, are doing their best to convert India into another Ireland. The impression is given that the English are a flight of harpies, preying upon the country.

But the chief obstacle to the improvement of India arises from some peculiar customs of the people themselves.

The Hindus are a strange compound. A volume has been published by Professor Monier Williams, entitled "Indian Wisdom," containing extracts from celebrated Hindu books, expressing very high moral and religious sentiments. But it has been remarked that from the same sources, not one volume only but many, might be compiled, worthy of being entitled "Indian Folly." Their literature is a type of the people themselves.

Bishop Caldwell justly says,

"I admire much that I see amongst the people of India. I admire their religiousness, I admire their temperance, I admire their patience and gentleness and courtesy. I admire their care of their relations to the furthest remove, and in many particulars I admire what remains of the primeval framework of their village system and their social system."

* January, 1884, p. 14.

But there is another side of the picture. The words of Sir Madhava Rao on the title page are also true :—

"The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community !"

Some of these "self-inflicted evils" may be mentioned.

"Each Hindu," says Dr. Hunter, "marries as a religious duty, and this marriage takes place at the close of childhood, quite irrespective of there being any means of subsistence for the young people." Though generally frugal, on certain occasions they indulge in extravagant expenditure. They have an inveterate habit of borrowing, and as the rate of interest is high, a good proportion of their earnings goes to money-lenders. Their charity is profuse but indiscriminate, much of it simply encouraging lazy able-bodied vagrants. They absorb one-fourth of the gold and one-third of the silver produced throughout the world, but they hoard it or lock it up in jewels. Of 150 crores spent on railways only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores represents native capital. Hence several crores a year have to be remitted to England for interest. Nor is this the only evil. Robberies are committed; women and children are murdered for the sake of their ornaments. Instead of using the reason which God has given them, the people are largely guided by the pretended science of astrology. Lastly, they are the willing or unwilling slaves of caste, one of the grossest systems of tyranny ever devised.

Some of the "institutions" which formerly flourished, as female infanticide, human sacrifices, widow-burning, and thuggee, have been abolished. Through the zealous efforts of men like Mr. Malabari and Rao Bahadur Raghonath Rao, the years of another are numbered; but many customs, equally injurious, still remain to give ample scope to the energy of the most ardent reformers.

It is an encouraging feature of the times that never in the history of India had she so many of her sons seeking her welfare. On the other hand, it must be confessed that many attach too much importance to mere politics. "In all times," says Smiles, "men have been too prone to believe that their happiness and well-being are to be secured by institutions rather than by their own conduct."

"The folly of expecting beneficent changes in society, except as the result of wide preparatory changes in individual character, is well expressed in these words of Herbert Spencer :—

"Just as the perpetual-motion schemer hopes, by a cunning arrangement of parts, to get from one end of his machine more energy than he puts in at the other, so the ordinary political schemer is convinced that out of a legislative apparatus, properly devised and worked with due dexterity, may be had beneficial state-action, without any detrimental

re-action. He expects to get out of a stupid people the effects of intelligence, and to evolve from inferior citizens superior conduct."*

The writer is old enough to remember the high expectations entertained throughout Britain of the effects of the Reform Bill of 1831. Gold was to be gathered like "stones of the brook." It is reported that a Radical leader not long ago promised, if his party were put into power, to secure for each working man in England three acres of land and a cow. Probably many half-educated men in India, now unemployed, imagine that every one of them would get a good appointment if certain political changes were made.

Experience has moderated hopes in Britain with regard to the benefits to be derived from elected representatives. Party rather than the good of the country often determines questions in the British Parliament. The Americans have no more reason to be satisfied with their Congress, nor the French with their Chambers.

The "comfortable" doctrine is held by the Hindus that all their miseries, including pestilence and deficient rainfall, are caused by the *sins of their rulers—not by their own*. This view is still largely entertained by Native journalists. While it is true that Government can and ought to do much for the improvement of the country, yet the second motto on the title page is equally true :—

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."†

The object of the following remarks is to endeavour to remove some misconceptions which are doing great mischief, to promote "self-help," and to direct attention to what lies at the root of all effectual reform.

A "candid" friend is not agreeable at the time; but Solomon says, "He that rebuketh a man afterwards shall find more favour than he that flattereth with his lip."

Official statements are questioned as issued by the members of an interested "bureaucracy." The writer never drew a pice from the Indian Government; none of his kith and kin was ever a claimant for office in this country; the greater part of his life has been spent in seeking to benefit the people; humanly speaking his ear must soon be dull either to praise or censure. He has endeavoured to write without fear or favour. If he is supposed to be prejudiced in favour of his countrymen, there may be equally strong prejudices on the other side. Sir William Jones quotes the saying from a Hindu author: "Whoever obstinately adheres to a set of opinions may at last bring himself to believe that the freshest sandalwood is a flame of fire."

* *Study of Sociology*, p. 6. † *England's Work in India*, p. 137.

On some questions, the highest authorities differ. The writer admits that on several subjects, brought under review, his own knowledge is very imperfect; but he has endeavoured, as far as lay in his power, to collect the opinions of men who have made them their life-long study.

The great need of caution at the present juncture is thus shown by Sir Evelyn Baring :—

“No one who watches the signs of the times in India with even moderate care can doubt that we have entered upon a period of change. . . . To move too fast is too dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still. The problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress, raw and superficial as in many respects it is, so as to direct it into a right course, and to derive from it all the benefits which its development is capable of ultimately conferring upon the country, and at the same time to prevent it from becoming, through blind indifference or stupid repression, a source of serious political danger.”*

The remark of Sir John Strachey has often been quoted that, “The England of Queen Anne was hardly more different from the England of to-day than the India of Lord Ellenborough from the India of Lord Ripon.” Even this pace, however, is not considered sufficient. “Young India,” in the box, wishes to drive still faster. His friends recommend him to put on the drag, lest the Reform Coach should come to grief, like that in the well-known cartoon of *Punch*. He is now wiser than his teachers. When Mr. Porter ventured to give some wholesome advice to his old pupils, the feeling was :—

“Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage.”

When Sir Madhava Rao presumed to differ from the Native Press, the *Indian Mirror* considered this a proof of senility, and the “Native Thinker” was advised henceforth to keep his “thoughts” to himself.

The ovation which Sir Richard Temple received on resigning the governorship of Bombay was perhaps only second to that accorded to Lord Ripon; but he was lately held up as unworthy of a seat in parliament, because “at heart hostile to the true welfare and progress of India.” However that may be, his words are true :—

“The motto of the imperial administration should be “*festina lente*.” By ‘*festina*’ (make haste) is meant that confident energy which must ever be the mainspring of progress. By ‘*lente*’ (slowly) is meant that circumspect caution which is essential to success.”†

ANCIENT HINDU CIVILIZATION.

Before proceeding further, it may be well to notice prevailing ideas on this subject.

* *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1883, pp. 588, 589.

† *India in 1880*, p. 492.

The "Presidential Address" of the Kumbakonum College Club refers to "that far but glorious antiquity, which is the perennial theme of the world's wonder; of which, degraded and fallen as we are, we are the living representatives."* Another speaker, belonging to the same College, says, "India's best days, alas! are long past, and what we now see seems to be the last refrain of some glorious song, or better still the soft closing notes of a grand piece of music whose soul-raising power has ended, and in whose last dying notes you just catch the echoes of its higher chords."†

Mr. Manomohun Ghose, the Bengal delegate to England, remarked some time ago in Calcutta :—

"He felt a legitimate pride in the ancient civilization of India, but he was bound to say that an undue and exaggerated veneration for the past was doing a great deal of mischief. It was quite sickening to hear the remark made at almost every public meeting that the ancient civilization of India was superior far to that which Europe ever had."

This notion has been fostered by Colonel Olcott. In a lecture delivered in the Town Hall of Bombay in 1882, "On the Spirit of the Zoroastrian Religion," he said :

"I, a Western man, taught in a Western University, and nursed in the traditions of modern civilization, say that Zaratushta knew more about nature than Tyndall does, more about the laws of force than Balfour Stewart, more about the origin of species than Darwin or Haeckel, more about the human mind and its potentialities than Maudsley or Bain. And so did Buddha and some other proficient‡ in Occult Science."§

The Parsi leaders were too sensible to accept this bare-faced flattery from a man who does not know a word of Zend. His opinion, however, is apparently accepted by the Editor of the *Indian Mirror*. Advertised as "the only Native Indian daily," it should represent the high-water mark of Native journalism; but the *Indian Witness* gives the following quotation :—

"Modern science cannot prognosticate the occurrence of earthquakes, as the ancient science of the Aryans can do. That there will be frequent earthquakes this year was foretold by our Hindu astrologers long ago, and every Hindu almanac for this year contains a forecast to that effect. Modern science is still very much in its infancy, and has yet to make much greater progress to enable it to even approach one-tenth part of the ancient Philosophy of the East. Our modern scientists are not fit to hold a candle to some of these learned men of our country, who are well versed in the scientific teachings of the East."||

The Hindus, says the Rev. G. Short :—

"Do not believe that we are in advance of them. We may appeal to our railways, telegraphs, medical and surgical science; but it is pro-

* *The Hindu*, Oct. 6, 1885. † *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1885. ‡ E. g., Koot Hoomi.
§ Lectures, p. 149. || *Indian Witness*, July 18th, 1885.

bably only to be told that a few clever Englishmen stole all these things from the Vedas! No one knowing what the Vedas are could hold such an opinion; but I have heard it put forth times without number, apparently in good faith, and sometimes too by men who have received an English education. Perhaps it may not be generally known that there are Pandits who hold that we white men are only the descendants of monkeys." *Lahore Church Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1885.

Max Müller includes in his *Biographical Essays* one of Dayananda Sarasvati, a Sanskrit Scholar, said to be as well known in North India as Dr. Pusey in England. The following is a quotation:—

"To him not only was everything contained in the Vedas perfect truth, but he went a step further and by the most incredible interpretations succeeded in persuading himself and others that everything worth knowing, even the most recent inventions of modern science, were alluded to in the Vedas." p. 176.

The Darwinian theory, mentioned above, is one way of accounting for the inferiority of Europeans; but Mr. Cupia, First Grade Pleader, Cuddapah, who aspires to be the historian of India, broaches the following: The foreign nations that have successively invaded the country are "no other than the degraded and outcast members of its own community, and who to avenge their past wrongs successively overran the country."*

In the West, national vanity has been toned down by travel. All sensible men among the English, Germans, French, Americans, &c., know that they have their respective excellencies and defects. The isolation of Oriental countries led to overweening self-conceit. Beyond the "Central Flowery Land," all were "outside barbarians." Before their dream, like that of Theebaw, was rudely disturbed, they said, "What do we care for your foreign inventions? Even our boys laugh at your weapons." The Chinese have grown wiser, and now numbers of picked men have been sent to Europe and America to gain a thorough knowledge of western science and art.

The Hindus are still worse than the Chinese. A "celestial" would dine with a "foreign devil," but to a Hindu he is a Mlechha or pariah. A felon in a jail has been known to throw away his food, because, by accident, the *shadow* of a European fell upon it.

Indian ideas of past times are drawn from poetry and imagination. The Cambridge Professor of Sanskrit says:—

"The very word history has no corresponding Indian expression. In the vernaculars derived from the Sanskrit we use the word *itihās*—a curious compound of three words, *iti*, *ha*, *āsa*, which almost correspond in meaning to our old nursery phrase, 'There was once upon a time.' In Sanskrit authors, the name means simply a legend. . . From the very earliest ages down to our own day, the Hindu mind seems never to

* Quoted in *Madras Mail*, Dec. 2, 1885.

have conceived such an idea as an authentic record of past facts based on evidence. It has remained from generation to generation stationary, in that condition which Mr. Grote has described so vividly in the first two volumes of his *History of Greece*. The idlest legend has passed current as readily as the most authentic fact, nay, more readily, because it is more likely to charm the imagination: and, in this phase of mind, imagination and feeling supply the only proof which is needed to win the belief of the audience."

There is a Latin proverb, "Every thing unknown is taken for something magnificent." Hindu philosophy was the "perennial theme of the world's wonder" so long as it was shrouded in Sanskrit. Translations, by the ablest oriental scholars of the present day, have dispelled the illusion. Max Müller himself, the Editor of *The Sacred Books of the East*, says in the Preface:—

"Readers who have been led to believe that the Vedas of the ancient Brahmans, the Avesta of the Zoroastrians, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the Kings of Confucius, or the Koran of Mohammed, are books full of primeval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be disappointed on consulting these volumes. . . . It is but natural that those who write on ancient religions, and who have studied them from translations only, not from original documents, should have had eyes for their bright rather than dark sides. . . . Scholars, also, who have devoted their life either to the editing of the original texts or to the careful interpretation of some of the sacred books, are more inclined, after they have disinterred from a heap of rubbish some solitary fragments of pure gold, to exhibit these treasures only, than to display all the refuse from which they had to extract them. I do not blame them for this; perhaps I should feel that I was open to the same blame myself."

"No one who collects and publishes such extracts can resist, no one, at all events so far as I know, has ever resisted, the temptation of giving what is beautiful, or it may be what is strange and startling, and leaving out what is commonplace, tedious, or it may be repulsive. . . . We must face the problem in its completeness, and I confess it has been for many years a problem to me, ay, to a great extent, is so still, how the sacred books of the East should, by the side of so much that is fresh, natural, simple, beautiful, and true, contain so much that is not only unmeaning, artificial, and silly, but even hideous and repellent. This is a fact, and must be accounted for in some way or other."

Similar opinions might be quoted from Professors Monier Williams, Eggeling, Barth, Whitney, and others.

To the wise man, according to Hindu philosophy, good and evil are alike; the climax of attainment is to be able to say *Aham Brahma*, I am God! There will be further remarks under this head.

The state of civilization is not to be estimated by one or two great writers who lived during the period. Homer, one of the greatest poets during all time, dates from the dawn of Western civilization; there is no writer of the present day equal to Shakes-

peare, but the civilization of the Elizabethan age was far below that now attained. In like manner the standard of Indian civilization is not to be measured by the existence of a Valmiki or Kalidasa.

Further, it is admitted that in Grammar the ancient Hindus far surpassed any nation of antiquity. They also made more or less progress in some other branches of knowledge. On the whole, however, their condition in its highest development was represented by Europe in the Middle Ages. Among their 64 Sciences the following were included :—

12. The science of prognosticating by omens and augury.
14. Science of healing, which may include restoration to life of the dead the reunion of severed limbs, &c.
15. Physiognomy, chiromancy, &c.
36. The art of summoning by enchantment.
37. Exorcism.
38. Exciting hatred between persons by magical spells.
41. The art of bringing one over to another's side by enchantment.
42. Alchemy and chemistry.
44. The language of brute creatures from ants upwards.
47. Charms against poison.
48. Information respecting any lost thing obtained by astronomical calculations.
50. The art of becoming invisible.
51. The art of walking in the air.
52. The power of leaving one's own body and entering another lifeless body or substance at pleasure.
56. Restraining the action of fire.
57. The art of walking upon water.
58. The art of restraining the power of wind.
62. The art of preventing the discovery of things concealed.
63. The art by which the power of the sword or any other weapon is nullified.
64. The power of stationing the soul at pleasure, in any of the five stages.

M. Lacroix, a distinguished French scholar, not long ago published an interesting work, *Science and Literature in the Middle Ages*.* It contains chapters on the "Occult Sciences" and Alchemy, describing much the same superstitions which existed in ancient India, and which are still believed by the half-educated, and the masses.

The words of Macaulay with reference to Europe apply with double force to Ancient India: "We see the multitudes sunk in brutal ignorance, and the studious few engaged in acquiring what did not deserve the name of knowledge."

India never ranked higher in civilization than it does at present. A pundit and a university graduate represent the two types of civilization.

* The period of time extending from the decline of the Roman Empire till the revival of letters in Europe, or from the eighth to the middle of the fifteenth century of the Christian Era. *Imperial Dictionary*.

Intelligent Hindus are quite aware of this. Mr. Manomohun Ghose added the following to the remarks already quoted :—

“It must be admitted by all who had carefully studied the ancient literature of India, that the much-vaunted civilization of India was of a peculiar type, and that it never could bear any comparison to what we call modern European civilization. Whatever might have been the case in ancient times, he thought that this frequent appeal to our ancient civilization could serve no good purpose at the present day, while it was simply calculated to make the Bengalis more conceited than they were.”

No Hindu Rishi that ever lived had a tithe of the real knowledge possessed by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra.

The above remarks do not detract from the merits of the great men of former days. The ignorant regard the people who lived long ago as very old and very wise ; while the moderns are looked upon as children. In some respects, the very reverse is the case. *We are the ancients* ; the world is now three thousand years older than it was in the Vedic age. To use Bacon's figure, we may be dwarfs, yet standing on the shoulders of giants, we can see farther than they.

In ancient India, knowledge, such as it was, was confined to a very limited number. Printing was unknown, and consequently books were scarce and expensive. Only a few countries were civilized, as China, India, Egypt and Greece. The Brahmans taught that all foreigners were to be despised as Mlechchas, and hence India could not profit by progress in other parts of the world.

All the valuable knowledge which has been gained in any quarter of the globe during the last twenty-five centuries is now at command. During these many years lakhs of learned men have been adding to our stores. Every fresh discovery is now flashed by the electric telegraph, and by means of newspapers is at once made known to the whole civilised world.

An adult deserves no credit for being wiser than when a young child. The present generation should be,

“The heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time.”

As well might it be said that Europe was more civilized during the Middle Ages than at present, as to say that India ever had a higher civilization than she now possesses. It would simply be disgraceful, if it were otherwise.

Another popular fallacy, that India was much richer in ancient times than at present, will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

MATERIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.

WHAT HAS ENGLAND DONE FOR INDIA ? *

Before attempting to point out what yet remains to be done, it is desirable to state what British Rule in India has already, more or less, accomplished.

1. **England has given India Peace.**—Before the commencement of British rule, as Lord Dufferin said at Ajmere, “scarcely a twelve-months passed without the fair fields of India being watered with the blood of thousands of her children.” The Rig Veda shows abundantly the fierce contests between the Aryan invaders and the aboriginal Dasyus. Indra, after being invited by the former to “quaff the soma juice abundantly,” was urged to destroy their enemies: “Hurl thy hottest thunderbolt upon them ! Uproot them ! Cleave them asunder !”

“Sometimes an Aryan leader fought with an Aryan leader. The cause of such a civil dissension might be jealousy or ambition..... The war of invasion lasted for centuries.”†

As already mentioned, India has no history properly so called. The legends, however, indicate sanguinary struggles. “Thrice seven times did Parasurama clear the earth of the Kshatriya caste, and he filled with their blood five large lakes.” The great Indian epic, the Mahabharata, relates a succession of battles, ending in the almost entire destruction of the contending parties.

The country was divided into a number of kingdoms, leading to frequent wars. Dynasty after dynasty succeeded each other.

The numerous invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni are well known. They were followed by a long series of similar expeditions.

“India,” says Dr. Hunter, “has, at its north-eastern and north-western corners, two opposite sets of gateways which connect it with the rest of Asia. Through these gateways, successive hordes of invaders have poured into India, and in the last century the process was still going on. Each set of new-comers plundered and massacred without mercy and without restraint. During 700 years, the warring races of Central Asia and Afghanistan filled up their measure of bloodshed and pillage to the full. Sometimes they returned with their spoil to their mountains, leaving desolation behind ; sometimes they killed off or drove out the former inhabitants and settled down in India as lords of the soil ; sometimes they founded imperial dynasties destined to be crushed, each in its turn, by a new host swarming into India through the Afghan passes. In the middle of the last century six such inroads on a great scale took place in twenty-three years. The first was led by a soldier of fortune from Persia, who slaughtered Afghan and India alike ; the last five were regular Afghan invasions.

* Much of this Chapter is taken from Dr. Hunter's *England's Work in India*.

† Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Indian Civilization*, p. 121.

"The precise meaning of the word invasion in India during the last century may be gathered from the following facts. It signified not merely a host of twenty to a hundred thousand barbarians on the march, paying for nothing, and eating up every town, and cottage, and farm-yard; burning and slaughtering on the slightest provocation, and often in mere sport. It usually also meant a grand final sack and massacre at the capital of the invaded country.

"On this first of the six invasions, 8000* men, women, and children were hacked to pieces in one forenoon in the streets of Delhi. But the Persian general knew how to stop the massacre at his pleasure. The Afghan leaders had less authority, and their five great invasions during the thirteen middle years of the last century form one of the most appalling tales of bloodshed and wanton cruelty ever inflicted on the human race. In one of these invasions, the miserable capital, Delhi, again opened her gates and received the Afghans as guests. Yet for several weeks, not merely for six hours on this occasion, the citizens were exposed to every foul enormity which a barbarian army could practise on a prostrate foe. Meanwhile the Afghan cavalry were scouring the country, slaying, burning and mutilating in the meanest hamlet as in the greatest town. They took especial delight in sacking the holy places of the Hindus, and murdering the defenceless votaries at the shrines. For example, one gang of 25,000 Afghan horsemen swooped down upon the sacred city of Muttra during a festival, while it was thronged with peaceful Hindu pilgrims engaged in their devotions. They burned the houses together with their inmates, slaughtering others with the sword and lance, hauling off into captivity maidens and youths, women and children. In the temples they slaughtered cows and smeared the images and pavement with blood.

"The border-land between Afghanistan and India lay silent and waste; indeed districts far within the frontier, which had once been densely inhabited, and which are now again thickly peopled, were swept bare of inhabitants."

The foregoing account of the Afghan inroads will help to explain the Russian Skobeloff's plan for the invasion of India. "It would be our chief duty to organise masses of Asiatic cavalry, and hurling them on India as our vanguard under the banner of blood and rapine, thus bring back the days of Tamerlane."

"The history of the fertile valley of Assam, in the north-eastern corner of India, is one long narrative of invasion and extermination. Anciently the seat of a powerful Hindu kingdom, whose ruined forts of massive hewn stone we find buried in the jungle, Assam was devastated, like the rest of Eastern Bengal, by the fanatical Muhammadan invaders in the fifteenth century from the west. A fierce aboriginal race (the Koch) next swooped down on it from the north. They in turn were crushed by another aboriginal race (the Ahams) from the east; and these again were being exterminated by the Burmese from the south, when they implored the English to interfere. During the last century, large tracts

* So Scott. Elphinstone thinks 30,000 nearer the truth.

of Assam were depopulated, and throughout that province and Eastern Bengal 30,000 square miles of fertile frontier districts lay waste.

"The task of reclaiming these tracts has been a heavy one. In the now prosperous districts of Goalpara with its half-million of inhabitants more money was spent, until 25 years ago, by Government in rewards for killing the wild animals than the whole sum realised from the land revenue. Not less than 13,000 square miles of border district have been reclaimed, and yield each year at the lowest estimate eighteen millions sterling worth of produce, or more than the average normal cost of the Indian army and the whole defence of the Indian Empire."

Macaulay thus describes the ravages of the Mahrattas :—

"The highlands which border on the western coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race which was long the terror of every native power, and which yielded only to the genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that the wild clan of plunderers first descended from their mountains. Soon after his death every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poona, at Gwalior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountain or the jungle. Many provinces redeemed the harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious black mail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi; another at the head of his innumerable cavalry descended year after year on the rice fields of Bengal."

Tanks are pointed out in Bengal into which women threw themselves to escape dishonour. Calcutta had to be defended by what was called the "Mahratta Ditch."

"Even the sea was a source of danger. On the Bay of Bengal, the pirates from the Burmese coast sailed up the great rivers, burning the villages, massacring or carrying off into slavery the inhabitants. On the other side of the peninsula, in the Indian Ocean, piracy was conducted on a grander scale. Wealthy rajas kept up luxurious courts upon the extortions which their pirate fleets levied from trading vessels and from the villages along the coast."*

The annual cost per head of the army maintained by the British Government in India, which has for a century protected the country from all external enemies is about one rupee. As already mentioned, the value of the produce of one province reclaimed from ruin would alone meet the entire outlay.

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 10, 11.

3. Crime has been repressed.—In all countries there are thieves, but the peculiarity of India is that it had over a hundred robber castes, just as there were soldier castes and writer castes, and that men went out to prey upon the property of their fellows—and if need be on their lives—with strict religious observances, strong in the belief that they were only fulfilling their destiny and doing good service to the deity whom they adored. They gloried in their exploits as sportsmen do, and talked over a successful gang-robbery with its attendant murders, as European gentlemen talk over their tiger hunts. Besides these there were also robberies committed by men not born and bred to the profession.

After the usual sacrifices, gangs set out in parties of thirty or forty, disguised as travellers or pilgrims. Their principal weapon was the spear. The head was carried about concealed on their persons; the handles served as walking sticks. Scouts or confederates informed them where there was a rich man's house. When all arrangements had been made, they advanced to the attack.

It was always a nocturnal surprise. With flaming torches and spears glittering in the broad light, they came suddenly on the sleeping inhabitants of the doomed house, and either roused them with their noise or pricked them up with the points of their weapons. It often happened that the luckless inhabitants, confused, bewildered, panic struck, like people under the influence of a fearful dream, did all that they were directed to do—pointed out the places where their wealth was hidden, and went like sheep to the slaughter. If the dakoits thought that all the property was not given up, torture was applied. Earrings were sometimes torn away, hands and feet were chopped off as the easiest mode of removing the ornaments. In England a gang of robbers could not exist for a single day when it was known. Every influential man in the neighbourhood and the constabulary would aid in their capture. But in India the reverse was the case. The zemindar, or landed proprietor, and the headman of the village, harboured the robbers and shared in their spoil.

The gangs were not limited to thirty or forty. In 1773 it was reported that a whole body of sepoys and their English leader were cut off by a robber horde. The Pindaris sometimes went in bands of 20,000 horsemen, carrying off immense booty. To surround them, Lord Hastings had to employ not less than 115,000 men.

Thuggism was another peculiar Indian institution.

Thugs were professional murderers who worshipped the goddess Kali, or Devi. They existed in large numbers in many parts of India for more than two thousand years. Divine sanction was claimed for their horrible trade. It was said that the goddess gave their ancestors waist-bands with which to destroy, first demons, and then men, by strangulation. "I am a Thug of the royal records,"

said one of these murderers ; " I and my fathers have been Thugs for twenty generations."

The Thugs, for the most part, belonged to particular villages, where they left their wives and children ; and they outwardly followed some peaceable calling. They cultivated the fields—rented a few acres of land—or employed labouring men to work under them. A Thug set out on his dreadful journey, and every one in the village knew the cause of his departure. A certain amount of hush-money was paid to the zemindar or headman, and the police officials, in the same manner, were bribed into silence.

Before going on their expeditions, Thugs made offerings to the goddess, and carefully attended to the omens through which they supposed that she made known her wishes. They assumed many different disguises, and played many different parts. There was nothing to distinguish them from ordinary travellers. A party of them would accost a wayfarer going homewards from a journey. Cheerful talk and song would win his heart, and he would tell them freely of his private affairs, of his wife and children he was going to meet, after long years of absence, toil, and suffering. Watching a favourable opportunity on the skirts of some jungle, one of the Thugs would throw his turban cloth round the neck of their victim. Another, seizing the other end of the cloth, would draw it tightly round ; whilst a third would seize the man by the legs, and throw him on the ground. There could be no resistance. The work was quickly done. The body was then stripped, the property secured, and very soon the corpse was buried. The Thugs would afterwards kindle a fire beside the grave, and feast as heartily, sing as merrily, and sleep as soundly as if they had committed an act of the greatest merit. No compunctions visited the Thugs. An English officer asked one of them, " Did you never feel pity for the old men and young children whom you murdered while they were sitting quietly by you ?" " Never," was the answer.

Such was the confidence of the Thugs in the protecting power of the goddess, that they believed that she would not only, if religiously served, shield them from harm, but visit with her wrath all who injured them. But this claim did not stand the test. When Thuggee was brought under the notice of the British Government, Lord William Bentinck appointed Colonel Sleeman, with several assistants, to take measures for its suppression. Within a few years this abominable system was destroyed. Colonel Sleeman established schools of industry at Jubbulpore, with a view of affording employment to adult approvers, and of educating their children.*

* Chiefly abridged from Kaye's " Administration of the East India Company."

Sindia thus bears testimony to the former and present state of things :—

“Your *prestige* fills men’s minds to an extent which to men who know how things were carried on scarce fifty years ago, seems beyond belief. Within that period when Mahrattas went from time to time from Gwalior to the Deccan, small bodies were not safe. The departure was an epoch in the year. Their friends parted from them knowing that they had to set out on a journey of danger—perils through thugs, robbers, spoliation and black-mail levied on them by the states through which they must pass : these things men not old still speak of. Now all pass to and fro without danger or hindrance—the poorest traveller feels as safe as the richest—for you make as much effort to protect the poor as the rich. I never put myself on the mail-cart, unattended and perhaps unknown, without appreciating the strength of your rule. It is a substance—I leave Gwalior without apprehension, and my absence occasions no distrust.”

It was the same throughout India. An old American friend who resided at Madura, in the Madras Presidency, told the writer that when he first came to the district there were old men who remembered the time when no one could venture after dusk without the walls of the city without being stripped to the “skin of his teeth.” Even in English mansions in Calcutta the outer door had to be locked at the commencement of each meal to prevent the plate from being stolen.

It is impossible for any Government to put an entire check to robbery and violence ; but there is now less crime in India than in England. It also goes on diminishing. There were 25 per cent fewer prisoners in gaol in 1882 than in 1867, notwithstanding the increased population. Considering the vast extent of the country, the security is perfectly marvellous.

3. **Government by Law has been established.**—Ancient India, it is true, had its Code of Manu. While many of its regulations were good, it also contained the following :—

“380. Never shall the King slay a Brahman though convicted of all possible crimes : let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure and his body unhurt.

“270. A once-born man who insults the twice-born with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit ; for he sprang from the lowest part of Brahma.

“271. If he mention their names and classes with contumely, as if he say, ‘Oh Devadatta, thou refuse of Brahmans,’ an iron style, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth.” Chap. viii.

On the other hand, the following regulations are laid down for certain low castes :—

“51. The abode of a *Chandala* and a *Swapaca* must be out of the town ; they must not have the use of entire vessels ; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses.

"52. Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food broken pots; their ornaments rusty iron; continually must they roam from place to place.

"53. Let no man who regards his duty, religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them." Chap. x.

Compare the Penal Code with the foregoing. Sir Madhaya Rao was Prime Minister for several years of two Native States. Referring to Cashmere he says :—

"1. Fix the *Civil List* of the Maharaja. There can be no real progress so long as the prince regards his kingdom as his private estate, from which he is at liberty to exact the greatest income, and believes that he is at liberty to appropriate all that income for his personal enjoyment.

"2. The next condition *essential* to good government in a Native State is the Maharaja or Nawab should not himself personally exercise the power of *taking away the life, liberty or property of any of his subjects.*"

These "essential conditions" did not exist under Hindu or Muhammadan rule. It was much the same in England till 1215 A. D., when John was obliged to sign the Magna Charta, establishing the supremacy of the law over the will of the monarch. Justice was no longer to be sold, denied or delayed. The protection of life, liberty, and property from arbitrary spoliation is the most important feature of the charter. No one was to be condemned but by lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

It may be mentioned that the great outcry made by Europeans against the Ilbert Bill was because it deprived them of one of the great rights obtained by the Magna Charta. The writer approves of the principle of the Bill, and believes that the fears of Europeans were groundless, but allowance ought to be made for them under the circumstances. What was to be condemned was the violent and unjustifiable language applied to Indians for an act for which the British Government alone was responsible.

The Governor-General cannot take a pice out of the treasury beyond his allowances. Just laws provide for the protection of the humblest.

"There is no longer any power in the state," says Kaye, "that can order, under the influence of a gust of passion or a spasm of caprice, the meanest labourer to be trampled to death by elephants, or disembowelled with a sharp knife. The poorest cooly is entitled to all the solemn formalities of a judicial trial, and the punishment of death, by whomsoever administered and on whomsoever inflicted, without the express decree of the law, is a murder for which the highest functionary is as much accountable as a sweeper would be for the assassination of the Governor-General in darbar."

It is true that there is still a great deal of injustice in courts. There is so much perjury among witnesses, that judges often find it difficult to ascertain the truth. The police, no doubt, instead of acting as protectors, are sometimes guilty of oppression. The

people, however, are thus wronged by their own countrymen—not by Europeans. But there is a gradual improvement. Dishonest practices, carried on for many centuries, cannot be eradicated at once.

4. The Health of the people has been promoted.—Small-pox is one of the most loathsome and dangerous diseases. It was so common and fatal in India, that in some parts of the country there is a proverb, “A mother can never say she has a son till he has had small-pox.” By means of vaccinators, employed by Government, its ravages have been greatly checked. Quinine, obtained from a tree on the Andes, is the best remedy yet discovered for fever; but its high price placed it beyond the reach of the poor. Government obtained plants from South America; plantations were formed on different hills, and the price of quinine has been reduced. Medical Colleges have been established for the training of doctors; hospitals have been erected; dispensaries have been opened. It has been found on careful inquiry that nearly three times more people die every year in towns which are filthy and crowded than in those which are kept clean and have plenty of fresh air. Government is therefore seeking to promote cleanliness. Ignorant people regard this as a sort of useless oppression, but it is for their own good.

5. Famines have been mitigated and commerce promoted by a network of roads and railways.—Some native opinions on this head may first be quoted. Mr. Ginwalla of Bombay says: “The question of filling up the country of India with a network of railways is principally beneficial to the English manufacturer and merchant.”* *The Hindu* says: “It is by no means certain that the extension of railways has been an unmixed blessing to India; that it has not carried in its train effects that have been the principal cause of the impoverishment of the Indian people.”† “India’s Appeal to the British Electorate” asserts that “the visitations of famine are unchecked in their severity.”

“Famine,” says Dr. Hunter, “is now recognized as one of the most difficult problems with which the Indian administration has to deal. A hundred years ago it was regarded not as a problem of administration, but as a visitation of God, utterly beyond the control of man. When the rains on which the crops depended fell short, no crops were reared, and the people perished...Such calamities are accepted as the ordinary and inevitable visitations of Providence in Asia. It is said that the recent famine in Northern China stripped large tracts of half their inhabitants.”

“In 1770 a terrible famine desolated Bengal. All through the hot season the people went on dying. The husbandmen sold their cattle; they sold their implements of agriculture; they devoured their seed grain; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children

* Quoted in Journal of National Indian Association, Sept. 1885.

† January 23, 1885.

could be found; they ate the leaves of the trees and the grass of the field, and in June it was reported that the living were feeding on the dead. Two years after the dearth, Warren Hastings made a progress through Bengal, and he states the loss to have been at least one-third of the inhabitants or probably about ten millions of people. Nineteen years later Lord Cornwallis reported that one-third of Bengal was a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts.”*

During the ten years ending in 1883, the British Government spent 17½ millions sterling in famine relief. But aid in this form is not the most effectual remedy.

It very rarely, if ever, happens that famine extends over the whole country. While one province may have suffered severely, another has had an abundant harvest. Before British rule the country was without roads. Goods were conveyed by pack oxen, or by rude carts. Until recently there were tracts where a cart excited almost as much curiosity as a locomotive at present. Carriage by pack oxen is exceedingly expensive; even by cart it is high. When famine prevails over a wide range, pack oxen and carts become almost useless. The oxen require water and fodder, which cannot be supplied in famine districts. On the other hand, a railway train carries its own supply of water and fuel, while it conveys as much as a thousand oxen at ten times the speed. Thus railways are one of the best means of mitigating the severity of famines. It is true that about five millions of people perished in South India during the famine in 1877 and 1878; but it was the most severe for a whole century, and railways were not sufficiently extended to distribute the food provided. The Duke of Buckingham, then Governor of the Madras Presidency, was indefatigable in measures of relief. Mr. Harnaday, an American naturalist, in a recent work, bears the following testimony:—

“It would be impossible to say too much in praise of the energy and activity displayed by the Madras Government in fighting for the lives of the millions under its charge. I do not see how a Government could have done more. Month after month a perfect torrent of grain was poured into Madras, from seaward, and for months the entire resources of the Madras Railway systems were strained to the utmost to carry it into the famine districts fast enough to keep the people from dying by thousands.”†

On account of the great expense of railways, their progress must be slow. At the end of 1884 the number of miles open was 11,527, of which 1,218 were completed during the year, and 3,555 miles were under construction.

Railways provide work for many more than they throw out of employment. There are yet only what may be called trunk lines. From one hundred to four hundred miles on each side of them,

* England's Work in India, pp. 22, 23. † Quoted in *Madras Mail*, Dec. 19th, 1885.

goods must be taken from the stations and carried to them by pack oxen or carts. The railways themselves give direct employment to a large body of men. In 1884 their staff consisted of 4,069 Europeans, 4,250 East Indians, and 189,429 natives.

The advantages of roads and railways are not confined to the mitigation of famine.

Formerly in India poor men travelled on foot by day, and rested under trees by night. The rich rode on ponies, or were carried in palanquins at the rate of four miles an hour. Travellers were exposed to fatigue, to the weather, to robbers, to sickness, and sometimes had to lie down and die alone. What a difference to be whirled along smoothly, quicker than a race horse! Rivers, even like the Ganges and Jumna, have been bridged. In 1884 the railways carried nearly 74 millions of passengers.

Some parts of the Central Provinces are very fertile. The people are nearly all cultivators. They formerly raised so much grain that they did not know what to do with it. Nobody wanted it. They therefore sometimes let their cattle eat the ripened grain, lest it should rot on the ground. There were no roads, and a bulky article like grain can be carried only a short distance with any profit by oxen. A cart has a great advantage over pack oxen. A pair of bullocks will draw a load three times as heavy on a good road as on a bad one, reducing the cost to one-third. But railways are far superior even to the best roads. Salt and other articles are now cheaper in the interior than they were before, and farmers can get a better price for their produce.

Railways are of great value in extending cultivation. The following proof of this is taken from the *Reis and Rayet* :—

“Raja Sheoparshad Singh of Gidhore, who died on the 2nd of September 1835, was the son of the late Maharaja Joymungal Singh, K.C.S.I., who was virtually the founder of the raj. His ancestors had long ruled in those wilds in a sort of feudal way, paying a nominal revenue for a large tract of country. The railway opened that part to civilisation and the world, and Joymungal helped to bring the iron horse into his country. He gave the East Indian Railway Company all the lands they required free of charge, and obscure, unknown, insignificant Gidhore is in consequence one of the best properties in Bengal. Joymungal, before he had passed his grand climacteric, had not only won riches, but found himself famous and honoured of his sovereign. He received the title of Maharaja Bahadoor, and was created a Knight of the Order of the Star of India. Gidhore itself is now a fine little country town, although without the advantages of an official station, and the palace of the raj is an imposing structure, the only residence of any pretension throughout a long tract of neglected and uninteresting country.”

6. The British Government has executed the greatest irrigation works in the world.—These are also of great value in mitigating famines and increasing the general food supply. It is cheerfully

admitted that Hindu rulers formed numerous tanks in Southern India and took off some canals from the Cavery. No works for irrigation had been constructed in North India before the time of Firoze Toghluq (1351—1387 A. D.) He excavated three canals, which however, through neglect, afterwards became useless.

As an example of the gross misrepresentation to which the British Government is exposed, the following may be quoted from Mr. Cupia, to whom reference has already been made :—

“No irrigation work of public utility has as yet been undertaken by the Government, whose policy is such as it would not allow the nation to prosper, but it allows the country to be frequently visited by famine, and the people to perish in thousands by sheer want and hunger.”*

Besides restoring the Hindu and Muhammadan canals, new works of this description have been carried out in different parts of the country. The Ganges canal is the greatest irrigation work in the world. It takes about half the water of the Ganges, where it issues from the mountains, and distributes it over the districts between the Ganges and the Jumna. Including its branches, the canal is about 700 miles in length. The Bari Doab Canal, from the Ravi, waters the country between that river, the Beas, and the Sutlej. Other similar works are either completed or in progress. With the branches, there are already about 13,000 miles of canal.

The large rivers of South India formerly rolled great volumes of water uselessly to the ocean. Anicuts, or bunds, have been constructed across the most important, as the Godavari, Kistna and Cavery, by which extensive tracts of land are irrigated.

7. Progress has been made in developing the resources of the Country.—The soil in any place is chiefly composed of the underlying rocks, which largely determine its value and show its capabilities. There is another great reason for acquiring a knowledge of the geology of a country. When looms were wrought by hand, the weavers of India could compete successfully with any in the world. Steam-power revolutionised weaving, and wherever hand-loom were employed, the workmen suffered, and had at last, in most cases, to give up the unequal contest. Coal is wanted both for steam and many other purposes. India is rich in good iron ore, but without coal it cannot be smelted on a large scale. For a number of years scientific men have been engaged upon the geological survey of India. Already some valuable coal fields have been discovered. The East Indian Railway uses Bengal coal, costing only Rs. 2 per ton, while imported coal costs Rs. 15. The saving last year alone amounted to upwards of 30 lakhs.

Cotton is the most valuable Indian export; but it is much inferior in quality and price to American cotton. Government imported

* *The Ancient History of India*, quoted in *Madras Mail*, Dec. 2, 1885.

American seed and employed American planters to improve the quality of the indigenous cotton. It commenced tea cultivation, the annual exports of which now amount to about three crores of rupees. It sent an officer to South America to bring the cinchona plant which yields the best known medicine for fever.

Botanical gardens have been established to introduce new valuable plants; museums have been opened to make known Indian products and lead to their purchase.

With perverse ingenuity some persons try to show that the great increase of Indian commerce only means the impoverishment of the country. This will be noticed in another chapter.

8. **Education has been extended.**—The Brahmans tried to confine knowledge to themselves. "No Mughal emperor," says Dr. Hunter, "ever conceived the idea of giving public instruction as a state duty to all his subjects. He might raise a marble mosque in honour of God and himself, lavish millions on a favourite lady's tomb, or grant lands to learned men of his own religion; but the task of educating the whole Indian people, rich and poor, of whatever race, or caste or creed, was never attempted."

The British Government has sought, as far as practicable, to educate all classes. There are colleges for those who wish to obtain a high education; but there are schools also for the children of ryots and artizans. Even the claims of those degraded by the Hindus as outcastes have been considered.

Through examinations for the public service, an attempt has been made to give offices to the best qualified, instead of being guided by mere favour.

That very much more yet remains to be done is admitted, and certain changes are desirable. A separate chapter will be allotted to the subject.

9. **An efficient class of Public Servants is being raised up.**—It has been said that in Turkey and Persia, "Every official, from the minister or Pasha, down to the lowest hireling who draws his pay from the State, is a tyrant who abuses his power habitually within the limits large or small to which his mischief is confined." The same remark applied largely to Indian officials under Muhammadan rule. "Fifty years ago," says Dr. Hunter, "the natives of India were not capable of conducting an administration according to our English ideas of honesty. During centuries of Mughal rule, almost every rural officer was paid by fees, and every official act had to be purchased. . . It is difficult to discriminate between fees and bribes, and such a system was in itself sufficient to corrupt the whole administration. It has taken two generations to eradicate this old taint from the Native official mind. But a generation has now sprung up from whose minds it has been eradicated, and who

are therefore fitted to take a much larger share in the administration than the Hindus of fifty years ago."

Complaints of nepotism, injustice, and bribery still crop up at times, but undoubtedly there has been a great improvement. Under Sher Shah, no officials were allowed to remain in the same place more than two years. This rule might be followed with advantage.

10. A beneficial influence has been exerted upon Native Princes.—Compare the past and present sovereigns of Baroda. The difference is like that between night and day. That the young Princes of India are now taking a higher view of their responsibilities, is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. If they are successful in making their subjects better educated and more prosperous than those under British rule, none will rejoice more than the people of England.

Properly conducted institutions, like the Mayo College, Ajmere, for the education of young princes and nobles are most valuable. It is, however, very important to guard against the introduction of western vices. It would be well if the European teachers connected with them gave up the use of wine and beer; but in any case they should be strictly forbidden to students. Young men, of all others, least require stimulants, and they are as dangerous in this country as "fire-water" among American Indians.

Ball-giving and horse-racing among Native Princes should be discouraged by the highest authorities. There are always some pleasure-hunters and "fast men" about courts who would tempt them in this direction, and a counteracting influence is required.

11. The Liberty of the Press has been conceded.—The most wretched scribbler may, with impunity, lampoon the Governor-General.

12. Every Improvement adopted by any civilised country in the world is sought to be introduced.—Bagehot says that the ancients "had no conception of progress; they did not so much as reject the idea; they did not even entertain it." This applies peculiarly to India. The Hindus were guided by the Institutes of Manu; the Muhammadans, by the Koran, and things remained stationary.

While the British Government has been exposed to "incessant misrepresentation and violent calumny," it is satisfactory that some of India's most distinguished men have acknowledged the advantages it has conferred on the country. Sir Madhava Rao's opinion is given on the title page:—

"The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils . . . than the Hindu community."

At the distribution of prizes at the Poona Girls' School, the Hon. G. M. Ranade said:—

“The administration of this country by a handful of men, one for every lakh and more of population, is also a wonderful feat; but even this may find its parallel in the world's history. There is, however, no parallel in history where the representatives of the ruling classes have thought it their duty to strive for the moral and social regeneration of the many millions entrusted to their care.”

The following opinion was expressed by the present Dewan, or Prime Minister, of Travancore:—

“We live under the mildest, the most enlightened, and the most powerful of modern Governments; we enjoy in a high degree the rights of personal security and personal liberty, and the right of private property; the dwelling of the humblest and meanest subject may be said to be now as much his castle as that of the proud Englishman is his, in his native land; no man is any longer, by reason of his wealth or of his rank, so high as to be above the reach of the law, and none, on the other hand, is so poor and insignificant as to be beyond its protection. In less than a short century, anarchy and confusion have been replaced by order and good government, as if by the wand of a magician, and the country has started on a career of intellectual, moral, and material advancement, of which nobody can foresee the end. Whatever may be the shortcomings of Government, (and perfection is not vouchsafed to human institutions and human efforts) in the unselfish and sincere desire which animates them to promote the welfare of the millions committed to their care, in the high view they take of their obligations and responsibilities as Rulers, in the desire they show at all times to study the feelings and sentiments of the people and carry them along with them in all important measures, and in the spirit of benevolence which underlies all their actions, the British Indian Government stand without an equal.”

Sindia's testimony is quoted at page 18. Two estimates may be given from competent foreigners. Count Björnstjerna was a Swedish statesman, author of a treatise on the “Theogony, Philosophy and Cosmogony of the Hindus.” He writes:—

“It may be truly said, that if England were to lose India, she herself would not suffer so much as her colonies, and that at the same time the loss would be a terrible misfortune for mankind. The English in Asia represent the commencement of civilization and humanity, and if by a great and sudden effort like the present, the inhabitants of India were to shake off the power under which they now live, then, undoubtedly, they would fall under the yoke of their own blood-thirsty tyrants, and would return to all the horrors of barbarism. In reality, the English have been the saviours of India. They put an end to the reign of brigandage, and replaced it by one of justice and order. They appear as the defenders of the rights of humanity. During whole centuries the history of India presents one continual spectacle of murder and devastation. The bloody era terminates with the conquests of the English, and though their Government has not been an example of all possible perfection, it is

impossible not to admit that it has been incomparably more mild, humane, and just than all other Governments under which Hindoos have ever lived."

The Rev. G. Bowen is an American missionary who has given nearly forty years of unceasing and disinterested labour to India. In a recent issue of the *Bombay Guardian*, he thus mentions some of "INDIA'S GAINS :"—

"First among these blessings, we mention the unification of the country. India was never one till to-day, but was always a congeries of nations, generally at war with each other, more or less, the principal government being for centuries a Mahomedan one. France, Spain, Italy, Germany were not more distinct nationally than the Bengallees, Marathis, Tamulians and Rajpoots were. There was not even the dream of a united India. But now India is one, in a most important sense and the unification goes on day by day.

"2. What has contributed very much to this is the spread of the English language and the diffusion of Western culture throughout India. The men of the different presidencies and provinces have a language by which they can communicate one with another, and all over the country English papers, edited by Natives and for Natives, are springing up.

"3. India has never known such liberty as she now enjoys. The lower castes and outcastes are disenthralled from the bondage in which they hitherto stood, and are free to avail themselves of the means of improving themselves industrially and educationally. All classes have liberty to enquire, to prove, to choose, to reject, and to act and speak in accordance with their convictions. The oppression of zemindars has been abated and no man has immunity for wrong deeds. That which in other countries, in England, was slowly won, inch by inch, century after century, has come to India in a day.

"4. The extension of railroads all over India, with rates of travel that permit even the poorest to avail themselves of the same, has been an inestimable blessing to the country. Facilities are thus afforded for the exportation of surplus harvests of grain from the heart of India, in the place of the underground hoards whereby the Banyas sought to make fortunes in time of famine. And famine, this deadliest of Indian plagues, has now become all but impossible in consequence of the facilities afforded by the improved communications of the country.

"5. Is it no blessing that the Hindoo of to-day has a much grander and better world to look out upon, than his father had ? The whole world, to his fathers, was *Mlechcha*, defiled, barbarous, beyond the pale of intercourse, abhorred even by the Gods, who reserved their incarnations and revelations and manifold favours for the people of this country. Now, the educated Hindoo thinks it a privilege to visit the Occident and become acquainted with the marvels of civilization and art. Once the sympathies of the Hindoo were cabined, cribbed, confined, shrivelled up to the confines of his own caste ; now what is to hinder their expansion to the ends of the earth, and the comprehension of all nations in his fellow-feeling ?

"These few instances, out of very many, may suffice to indicate what, in our opinion, should awaken the lively and lasting gratitude of the intelligent Native of this country. And we are free to admit that we have no manner of respect for the so-called patriotism that overlooks these things. It is the present Government that has made patriotism a possibility, by consolidating into one the various kingdoms and families of this country." Dec. 19th, 1885.

While much has been done for the welfare of India, it is fully admitted that very much yet remains to be done. The very excellence, in some respects, of British rule, is causing its greatest difficulty,—how to feed the increasing population.

"It is not pretended that, unlike any other country, the social, material, and political conditions of India now leave no room for improvement. Defects of many sorts can readily be pointed out. But it is through the very progress that these become known. In the arts of administration, as in all other application of knowledge, our views widen with each successive step we take; and the emphatic recognition that much yet remains to be done for the people of India neither dims the lustre of what has been accomplished, nor should cool the ardour of those who there continue the strife with human misfortune, weakness, or ignorance."*

The chief object of the present *brochure* is to attempt to show what measures seem desirable to meet the circumstances of the case.

THE INDIAN ARMY.

"The army," says Sir George Campbell, "is not only vastly important as the means of that security, without which the best government would be of little avail, but is also the overwhelming financial item, on the regulation of which our financial prosperity principally depends."†

The British Government wishes to place the Indian army on the lowest footing compatible with safety to the Empire. The continent of Europe, however, is one vast camp, and the power which has both the largest number of soldiers and is most aggressive, is rapidly approaching the Indian frontier. At present a railway is being pushed on night and day to the territory recently acquired. The plan for the invasion of India, by one of Russia's most celebrated generals, has already been noticed. Under the circumstances, the condition of the army requires attentive consideration.

A Madras Glaukon, giving his ideas on "The present Outlook of India," suggested that one of the "two possible ways in which England could strengthen the feelings of gratitude in the hearts of the India population"... was by "forming the army entirely of natives of the country."‡ Russia would soon make short work of such an army; but there are other reasons for a strong European force.

* *Finances and Public Works of India*, p. 12. † *India as it may be*, p. 335.

‡ *Madras Mail*, Nov. 2, 1885.

In 1856 Lord Dalhousie wrote in his last Minute :—

“No prudent man, who has any knowledge of Eastern affairs, would ever venture to predict the maintenance of continued peace within our Eastern possessions. Experience, frequent, hard, and recent experience, has taught us, that wars from without, and rebellion from within, may at any time be raised against us, in quarters where they were the least to be expected, and by the most feeble and unlikely instruments. No man therefore can ever prudently hold forth assurance of continued peace in India.”

The truth of this was shown the following year by the terrible Mutiny. For more than a century the Indian sepoy had eaten the salt of the British Government ; his prejudices had been respected, yet when new cartridges were introduced, simply glazed to pass more easily through the gun, it was believed that they were smeared with pig's fat and cow's fat to destroy the caste both of Mussulmans and Hindus. Base treachery in some cases was also exhibited. At Allahabad the sepoys made the loudest protestations of loyalty in the morning, and shot down their officers at mess in the evening. Whole provinces were thrown into a state of anarchy ; the Mutiny cost 46 crores to suppress it, and many thousand lives were sacrificed.

India is a slumbering volcano which may burst forth at any moment. Mr. Morley's remark about “excitable barbarism” contains much truth. The animal worship of the ancient Egyptians prevails to some extent among the Hindus. The cow is an object of special reverence, while the Muhammadans eat beef. A few years ago at one of the principal cities in the Punjab, a large military station, a serious riot took place from the exposure of beef. The Hindus destroyed a celebrated mosque, while the Muhammadans retaliated by pulling down Hindu temples. Last year when Hindu and Muhammadan festivals happened at the same time, there were some riots attended with loss of life. A fanatic of either religion may at any time set a province in a blaze. Were it not for a strong European army, there would be an immediate struggle on the part of the Muhammadans to recover their former supremacy.

Mr. Chandavarkar, the Bombay Delegate, made the following statement in England with regard to the comparative cost of European and Native soldiers :—

“In the time of John Company a soldier cost £30 a year ; at present a British soldier costs £200, and each Native soldier £20 a year.”

The asserted cost of £30 in the Company's time is arrived at by lumping Europeans and Natives together, and taking the mean. Even, in that way, it is not correct, for it amounted to £41. The present average is £83.

The Bombay Delegate in giving what is called the present cost respectively of European and Native soldiers, included officers in

the first case and excluded them in the latter. By such a mode of manipulating accounts, startling contrasts may be obtained.

The writer has been unable to get any details regarding the comparative cost of European and Native regiments. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras courteously allowed him access to any public documents in his office ; but when he asked for the Reports on Army Organization, the Military Department declined to give them, they being Confidential Papers.

The following is an abstract of the strength and cost of the Indian army in 1850 and 1883 :—

	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.	Cost. £	Entire Expenditure. £	Percentage.
1850	49,280	228,448	277,728	11,890,000	26,850,000	41
1883	63,071	127,405	190,476	17,440,000	69,420,000	25

It will be seen that the European army has been considerably increased, and the native force reduced nearly one-half. These changes were necessitated by the Mutiny. Although the total cost has risen, the percentage on the revenue has fallen from 41 per cent to 25 per cent.

As already mentioned, the average cost of the army per head is about one rupee a year.

While the great value of the army is acknowledged, its requisite strength is a matter for discussion. The remark was once made in parliament, "Every general thinks that he needs a large army." Military men alone should not decide the question. India has to be considered as well as Russia. Mr. S. Laing, formerly Finance Minister in India, says,—

"We were warned from all quarters by our most experienced officers, and most of all by influential natives whose fortunes were bound up with ours, and whose loyalty we could not doubt, that a great change was taking place in the feeling of large classes of the native population towards us, owing to the incidence, and still more to the apprehension of new taxes. I shall never forget the emphatic observation of Lord Canning at the first interview I had with him ; that he deeply regretted the necessity which compelled him to impose the Income-tax ; and that, to use his own words, 'danger for danger, he would rather risk governing India with 40,000 European troops, without new taxes, than with 100,000 with them.'"

The annexation of Upper Burma will necessitate an increase of the army, although the cost will be fully met by the revenues of the province. Leaving this out of account, it seems desirable, before sanctioning any great increase in the Native army, to ascertain fully how far the armies of the Indian Princes can be utilised for the defence of the Empire.

For the regiments of Native Princes to be brigaded with British troops, they must, in most cases at least, be better drilled, better officered, and provided with better weapons.

The *Madras Mail* says that "with regard to military service the natives have an undoubted grievance. It is degrading to young natives of spirit and good family to be forbidden from entering a career which in other lands holds almost the highest place in public estimation." (Sept. 30, 1885).

It seems expedient to remove this restriction. As the *Calcutta Review* says, "The number of such appointments need not be large, the qualifications might be made as rigorous socially, politically and intellectually as prudence would dictate.....Let it be essential that the candidate for such high military service shall go to England and pass through Sandhurst or better still, let a military department be attached to such an institution as the Mayo College at Ajmere."*

A separate *Military Academy* in India is preferable to attaching it to Mayo College. Both would suffer from such an arrangement.

The cadets might be carefully selected by the military authorities from good native families. Open competition would here be very inexpedient. There might be a three years' course in India, during which unpromising men could be weeded out. Those who completed their course with credit might be sent for a year to Sandhurst. This is desirable for several reasons.

1. To give a correct idea of the military power of England, and show the futility of any attempt at mutiny.

2. To secure the respect of their English fellow-officers.

3. To enlarge their ideas and fit them better for mixing in English Society.

The commissions should be confined to Native Regiments.

The Academy might be made available for the training of officers for the armies of Native Princes. The course in their case might, if necessary, be shorter and more in the vernacular.

Volunteering.—There should be no restriction here. The only candidates are likely to be young men acquainted with English. Their number would not be large; and a grievance would be removed.

Arms Act.—The "Appeal" complains that the people have been "demartialised." So it has been in England. Formerly nearly every man carried some weapon. A sword was considered part of the full dress of every gentleman as it is of a military officer at present. As might be expected, many persons were killed every year in quarrels. In India it is very well that the Muhammadans have been "demartialised," or the Hindus would have fared badly.

It is alleged that the Arms Act has caused much loss of life. Of 22,125 killed by Wild Beasts and Snakes in 1882, there were 2,606 from the former and 19,519 from the latter. Most Hindus look upon snakes as sacred and will not kill them. The Arms Act need not be enforced in the few districts where tigers are numerous.

* *Calcutta Review*, April 1885, p. 367.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S COUNCIL.

The Radical Mr. Slagg would abolish as useless the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as probably he would some other institutions much more venerable. This idea has been taken up in India. *The Indian Mirror* says:—

"We are glad to notice that the Appeal (to the British Electorate) hits another blot in the present system of administration, by aiming at the abolition of the Secretary of State for India's Council, which is the greatest drag upon India's progress and the cause of all the misfortunes of the Indian people." Sept. 13, 1885.

The Second Resolution at the recent Bombay meeting was as follows:—

"That the Congress consider the abolition of the Council as at present constituted the necessary preliminary to all other reforms."

It may be added that Radicals in England consider the "abolition of the House of Lords" the "necessary preliminary" to the distribution of three acres of land and a cow.

Some remarks may be offered on the subject.

Mr. J. S. Mill says:—

"It is not by attempting to rule directly a country like India, but by giving it good rulers, that the English people can do their duty to that country; and they can scarcely give it a worse one than an English cabinet minister, who is thinking of English, not Indian politics."*

Few Secretaries of State have seen India, and from the numerous changes in the political world, they are, not unfrequently, new to office. Mill has the following judicious remarks:—

"There are many rules of the greatest importance in every branch of public business (as there are in every private occupation), of which a person fresh to the subject neither knows the reason nor even suspects the existence, because they are intended to meet dangers or provide against inconveniences which never entered into his thoughts. I have known public men, ministers, of more than ordinary natural capacity, who, on their first introduction to a department of business new to them, have excited the mirth of their inferiors by the air which they announced as a truth hitherto set at naught, and brought to light by themselves, something which was probably the first thought of everybody who ever looked at the subject, but given up as soon as he had got on to a second."

The Secretary of State for India has very great influence. He may be cautious like the Earl of Derby, but he may also be impulsive like Lord Churchill. It is most desirable that he should have able men acquainted with India to advise and control him.

* *Considerations on Representative Government.*

The contrast between the opinion of the *Indian Mirror* and that of Sir Madhava Rao is very striking. The latter says :—

"It is somewhat remarkable how some educated natives have too readily taken up, and are disposed to support, a proposal to abolish the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Have they fully and carefully considered the matter, and satisfied themselves that the measure would be really beneficial to India ? I fear it may be the reverse. The Secretary of State is generally a British statesman engrossed in English politics, and having no Indian experience and but little Indian knowledge. He is, therefore, liable, with the best intentions, to make many and serious mistakes in Indian affairs. A council is calculated to prevent such mistakes. Again, such a British statesman might, sometimes, be only too ready to sacrifice Indian interests for the favour of the English people. A council would check such tendency. To abolish the council would, therefore, be to make the Secretary of State for India an *unrestrained autocrat*. This cannot be a desirable consummation ! It is rather one devoutly to be prayed against. The principle to be steadily aimed at is, that the ultimate control of Indian affairs should rest with a body of officers who combine imperial statesmanship with special knowledge and experience of India. One man cannot insure all this. Therefore, have *more than one*. The head of the body may be a British statesman and let him have a council of persons specially versed in Indian affairs. If the existing body be defective, ascertain the defects and correct *them*. If the existing council be too costly, try to reduce the *cost*. If it be too cumbrous, reduce the *dimensions* or *numbers*. If it does not contain members possessing knowledge of the affairs of India as India at present is, insist upon its containing such. Such is the policy which I would commend for the consideration of native political reformers. Above all, beware that you do not substitute King Stork for King Log ! As a general rule, in political administration, *repair* is better and safer than *revolution*."

When the abolition of the India Council was mooted a few years ago, the *Hindu Patriot*, then edited by the late Hon. Kristo Das Pal, took the same view as Sir Madhava Rao.

Mr. Chandavarkar, the Bombay Delegate, repeatedly made the following statement in his home speeches : "The India Office cost £230,000 and the Colonial Office £40,000.* The one was paid by the British tax-payer and the other was paid by the people of India who had no voice in regard to the expenditure." The outlay on the India Office is alleged to be extravagant, and the reason of it is because the charges fall upon the people of India. Let this insinuation be examined.

The population of all the Colonies of Great Britain is about 16 millions, of which the most important are self-governing, whereas British India contains 200 millions and the Native states 50 milli-

* At first he said £30,000, but in his later addresses he gave the correct figure, £40,000.

ons more. In the ratio of 16 to 200, the India Office should cost £320,000. The writer is unable to give the pecuniary transactions of the Colonies with the Home Office, but they must be trifling compared with the great interests India has at stake.

The Secretary of State for India receives £5,000 a year. The highest salary under him is £2,000, given to the Permanent Under-Secretary. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary receives £1,500. The highest salaries in other cases are £1,200 a year. *The salaries paid by the people of India for the India Office are precisely the same as those paid by the people of England for the Colonial Office.*

The specialty of the India Office is its Council, composed of 15 members, generally selected from some of the most eminent Indian officers on their retirement from service. Each receives £1000 a year, so that the total cost is £15,000. The council is divided into committees of Finance, Political, Military, Public Works, Commerce, Stores, Judicial, &c. Men like Sir Robert Montgomery advise on political questions, General Strachey on the army, Sir H. J. S. Maine on law, &c.

When collecting information about India, the writer made repeated visits to the India Office. He found an excellent library under the care of Dr. Rost, an eminent oriental scholar. Formerly there was an Indian Museum within the building, but this has been removed, and is now paid for by the Home Government. Dr. Forbes Watson was a complete magazine of knowledge with regard to Indian products, and sought to utilize it as much as possible for the benefit of this country. So with other Departments. Every thing seemed to be well adapted to promote the enlightened administration of a great Empire. "Petty economies" here would be a "penny wise and pound foolish" policy.

Nothing perhaps has to be more carefully scrutinised than the home military charges. Sir John and General Strachey say,

"The Government of India has never concealed its opinion that in apportioning the charges which have to be shared between the two countries, and when the interests of both English and Indian tax-payers have been at stake, India has sometimes received a scant measure of justice."

Railway material and other stores have to be purchased to a large amount in England. Here there is great room for jobbery.

There are military officers, like General Strachey, to examine War Office claims, and a Committee on Stores to look into purchases. Undoubtedly the Members of Council, even in a pecuniary point of view, save India every year many times their salaries.

The home administration of 200 millions of people costs them annually about two pies ($\frac{1}{4}$ d.) per head. The proportion due to the India Council is about one-seventh of a pie per head.

A Royal Commission to inquire into the constitution and working of the Council is nevertheless very desirable. This was urged by the late Mr. Fawcett. He says :—

"It was, no doubt, intended, when the Government of India by the Act of 1858 was transferred from the Company to the Crown, that the Council of the Secretary of State should exercise the same control over Indian expenditure, as had formerly been exercised by the Directors of the Company and by the Court of Proprietors. But gradually the influence and control of the Council have been so completely whittled away that it is now openly declared by a Secretary of State that he can spend the revenues of India, beyond her frontiers, without obtaining the consent, or even bringing the subject under the notice, of his Council. Whether or not the power thus claimed is really conferred upon him by the Act of 1858, and by Acts which have subsequently been passed, raises questions which I cannot attempt to enter upon here. The whole subject, however, of the inadequacy of the control now exercised on the expenditure of the revenues of India, is one that urgently demands the most careful investigation. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the present state of things. When the Secretary of State desires to avoid responsibility, he can shelter himself behind his Council ; when he desires to act, untrammelled by their control and unhampered by their advice, he can ignore them as completely as if they did not exist." pp. 70, 71.

The same remarks apply to the Viceroy's Council. Mr. Fawcett says :—

"If a Viceroy in a period of severe financial pressure can sacrifice an important branch of revenue in direct opposition to the wishes of a majority of the Council ; if a Secretary of State can decide upon a policy which will involve the outlay of millions, and free himself, not only from the control, but from the criticism of his Council by availing himself of the undefined powers which are vested in him of placing the despatch which orders the expenditure in the secret department—it is at once obvious that the control which these two Councils can exercise is most inadequate."

Mr. Justice Cunningham says,

"Apart from any contemplated change, however, it would undoubtedly be convenient if the Acts of Parliament and fragments of Acts which at present regulate the government of India were consolidated into a single uniform and methodically arranged enactment ; and, as it is desirable that this should be done, the opportunity might be taken of clearing away several obscurities and confusions which disfigure the existing law."*

The following might be some points of inquiry :

1. *The Powers of the Council.*—Should the Secretary of State be able to issue orders in the "Secret Department" involving India in a costly foreign war without the Council knowing anything about them ?

* *British India and its Rulers*, pp. 62, 63.

2. *The Term of Office in the Council.*—This at first was for life, but to obtain more recent experience, in 1869 it was limited to 10 years, with a power of re-appointment by the Secretary of State for five years. Considering the rapid changes in India, the term might be reduced to seven or even five years, without the power of re-appointment. Members would be more independent if they could not be re-elected.

3. *The Selection of the Members.*—It has been suggested that some of the members should be natives of India. For the present, one each might be chosen from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. They should be men of mature years, fit to take their seats at a Council board with the European members. The difficulty will be for some time to get competent men willing to go to England.

4. *The Cost of the India Office.*—Might this be reduced compatible with efficiency?

A Parliamentary Commission is not desirable. It would tend to make it a party question. Besides, there is no saying how long the present Parliament may last, and the attention of members is absorbed by burning home questions. The Royal Commission might consist of the Earl of Iddesleigh, the Marquis of Ripon, the Earl of Northbrook, with two lawyers, chosen by them. The Marquis of Ripon would represent "New India;" the Earls of Iddesleigh and Northbrook are both sensible, moderate men; the lawyers would give advice on legal matters.

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF INDIA.

The Bombay Delegate made the following remarks in England:—

"During 40 years the national debt had increased from 36 millions to 159 millions. During the last three years India had to borrow 13 millions sterling. This was a most unsatisfactory state of things. They knew what to think of an individual who lives by borrowing (cheers). The same conclusion must apply to governments and to countries (cheers)."

The cause of the increased debt was explained as follows:—

"The reason why the national debt was increasing was owing to the high salaries paid. The Government had several times pledged itself to employ a proportion of native officials, but in every department of every province nearly all the officials were still Englishmen, and the one or two natives employed were paid miserably low salaries. ('shame.')

No doubt it is foolish and wicked to borrow money at high interest to spend it on empty show as is so often done in this country; but to borrow money may also be a mark of great wisdom.

Let the reasoning of the Delegate be applied to Australasia.

When the English landed on the island-continent, they found it occupied by a few wandering savages, who gained a precarious

living by hunting, fishing, and wild fruits. There was not a single fixed habitation in the whole country. The settlers introduced cattle, sheep, and horses; they began to cultivate the soil, and to work the rich mines of coal, copper, and gold. To convey the produce to the coast, roads and railways were required. The settlers had not sufficient capital of their own to provide what was wanted; so they borrowed in England, where money can be obtained at a low rate of interest. These young colonies, with a population of 3,100,000, in 1884 had a debt of 100 millions sterling, or at the rate of Rs. 322 per head,—fortyfold the Indian rate, which is only Rs. 8 per head. Was “this a most unsatisfactory state of things?” Chiefly through their industry, but largely through borrowing, the colonists are, in proportion to their numbers, the richest people in the world. A great part of the interest of the debt is met by railway fares.

The increase in the debt of India during the last quarter of a century has been mainly caused by Government pursuing the same course as Australia.

In 1844 the debt amounted to £41,880,451, and the interest to £1,959,593. The Sikh and Burmese wars, and especially the Mutiny, which cost 46 crores, raised the debt in 1863 to £104,495,235, the interest amounting to £4,838,596.

Lord Dalhousie planned the Indian railway system, and new irrigation projects were proposed to mitigate famines. Only excessive taxation would have permitted such undertakings to be met from current income. Government, therefore, very wisely borrowed for *reproductive* public works. By “reproductive works” are meant those which, like railways, will eventually meet their own cost. Up till 1883, 64 millions sterling had thus been spent. On the other hand, the receipts during 1882–3 from “Reproductive Public Works” amounted to £12,224,100. It is true that this went to meet the expenses of working and interest; but the actual loss was trifling, and in course of time the railways will yield an annual profit. The people were also greatly benefited.

The General Debt and Interest were as follows in 1873 and 1883:—

	Debt.	Interest.
1873	£97,050,806	£4,378,583
1883	94,786,971	3,997,469

There was therefore a reduction of 2 crores during the ten years, notwithstanding the Afghan war and a famine expenditure of 17½ millions.

From the Debt of 1883, amounting to £94,786,971, should be deducted the Cash Balances, £18,251,424; leaving as the actual amount £76,535,067. The Public Debt of India is small compared with other countries. That of France amounts to 942 millions,

that of England to 746 millions. The debt of Russia is so large that it is kept secret.

The foregoing figures show how far the Bombay Delegate was justified in his remarks.

On the whole, the management of the Public Debt of India has been characterised by an enlightened policy. If there has been error, it has been on the side of caution.

PRESENT INCIDENCE OF TAXATION.*

A young Madras politician said that there were "two possible ways in which England could strengthen the feelings of gratitude in the hearts of the Indian population." The second has been mentioned, viz. to "form the army entirely of natives of the country;" the first is "Stopping over-taxation under which India is now groaning."† "Young Madras" is a fair exponent of the current Native ideas on the subject. The opinion is almost universal that taxation under British rule is heavier than formerly. Let it be compared with that which preceded it for several centuries.

"Under the Mughals," says Dr. Hunter, "the land tax, as now, formed about one-half of the whole revenue. The net land revenue demand of the Mughal Empire averaged 25 crores from 1593 to 1761; or 32 crores during the last century of that Empire from 1655 to 1761. The annual *net* land revenue raised from the much larger area of British India during the ten years ending 1879, has been 18 crores, gross 21 crores. But besides the land revenue there were under our predecessors not less than 40 imposts of a personal character. They included taxes upon religious assemblies, upon trees, upon marriage, upon the peasant's hearth, and upon his cattle. Every non-Muhammadan adult had to pay a Poll-Tax." The net total revenue under Aurungzebe amounted to about 80 crores.‡ The taxation under British rule is little more than half of what it was under the Mughals, and it is spread over a much larger population.

During 1882-83 the gross revenue raised in India was Rs. 692,932,410. This, however, gives a very erroneous idea of the actual weight of taxation. Railway and other Productive Public Works yielded Rs. 122,241,000; the Post Office and Telegraph gave Rs. 17,089,940. Neither railway fares nor postage can be considered taxes. Opium realised Rs. 94,995,940, but this was nearly all paid by the Chinese. Native States contributed for military charges, &c., Rs. 6,899,450.

* Exclusive of Municipal Taxation, which will be noticed under another head.

† *Madras Mail*, Nov. 2, 1885.

‡ Thomas's *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, quoted in *England's Work in India*, p. 104.

About half the net revenue, exclusive of the above, is derived from land. Some of the highest authorities, like the late Mr. Fawcett and Sir James Caird, do not consider the land revenue a tax. A man who holds his land rent free in India sells his grain at the same rate as the man who pays land tax. The tax corresponds with the rent which farmers in England pay to the owners of the land. To prevent any objection, the taxation per head will be given without and with the land tax.

Mr. J. S. Cotton, brother of Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, author of *New India*, carefully reviewed the condition of India during the ten years ending in 1882-3. He gives the following estimate of the amount of taxation actually falling upon the people per head* :—

	Total.			Per Head.		
	£	£.	s. d.	Rs.	A.	P.
Salt ...	6,123,984	...	0 0 7·4	0	4	11
Stamps ...	3,343,048	...	0 0 4	0	2	8
Excise ...	3,569,779	...	0 0 4·3	0	2	10
Provincial ...	2,666,437	...	0 0 3·2	0	2	1
Customs ...	1,243,927	...	0 0 1·5	0	1	0
Assessed Taxes	496,836	...	0 0 0·6	0	0	7
Registration ...	284,143	...	0 0 0·4	0	0	3
	17,727,955	...	0 1 9·4	0	14	4
Land Revenue.	21,784,576	...	0 2 2·3	1	1	6
	39,512,531	...	0 3 11·7	1	15	10

The average amount of taxation per head is Rs. 2. If an agricultural labourer does not go to law nor use intoxicants, the only imperative tax which he has to pay is 5 annas a year for salt. "He is no doubt a very poor man, but his poverty can scarcely be said to be grievously enhanced by the exactions of the State."

Sir James Caird, in a letter to *The Times* in reply to the writer of "Bleeding to Death," says :—

"India is not expensively governed..... Compared with other countries the government expenditure of India per head of the population is 1-24th that of France, 1-13th that of Italy, 1-12th that of England, and 1-6th that of Russia." Jan. 31st, 1883.

It has been shown that the average taxation per head is Rs. 2. The Delegates gave Rs. 27 as the average income in this country. Out of Rs. 2½ a month an Indian has to pay 2 as. 8 p. in taxes. What does he get for this? The late Archbishop Whately, writing for home, thus explains it :—

"Many are apt to think taxes quite a different expense from all others, and either do not know, or else forget, that they receive any thing in exchange for the taxes..... Were it not for this, you could be employed

* Progress and Condition of India. 1872-3—1882-3.

scarcely half your time in providing food and clothing, and the other half would be taken up in guarding against being robbed of them; or in working for some other man whom you would hire to keep watch and fight for you. This would cost you much more than you pay in taxes; and yet you may see, by the example of savage nations, how very imperfect that protection would be.”*

There is no civilised country in the world where the incidence of taxation is less per head than in India. Suppose, however, that it could be reduced one-half, and that the average rate per month was 1an. 4p. (2*d.*) less than at present. This would not make any *material* improvement in the condition of the people. Suppose every European in the civil service was replaced by an Indian at one-third lower salary, it would reduce the average monthly taxation by only about one pie ($\frac{1}{3}$ *d.*).

Lord Dufferin is as desirous as any Indian of ameliorating the condition of the poor. It is, however, to be effected not by “petty economies,” not by cheap and less efficient officers of government, but by making the toil of the labourer more remunerative. His lot in life is to be bettered, not by reducing the 2 as. 8 p. a month he has to pay, but by increasing his earnings, if possible to Rs. 3 or 4. He must also be induced to exercise forethought with regard to marriage, to give up squandering money on empty show, and his inveterate habit of borrowing.

IS INDIA BECOMING RICHER OR POORER UNDER BRITISH RULE?

The Bengali opinion that “the ancient civilization of India was superior far to that which Europe ever had,” has already been quoted. There is another idea perhaps still more widely prevalent. The *Edinburgh Review* says that “the assumption is spreading in a notable way among the half-educated classes, that up to the appearance of the English, the Indians were living in a state of religious simplicity under virtuous kings.”† The Golden Age has been succeeded by the Iron Age under the British.

The Messrs Strachey say that some Englishmen

“Endeavour honestly and persistently to show that, in consequence of the wickedness or stupidity of our Government, India is in a state bordering on bankruptcy; that its people are becoming poorer and poorer, more and more miserable, more and more exposed to ruin and death by famine; that crushing taxation goes on constantly increasing; that an enormous and ruinous tribute is exacted from India to be spent in England.”‡

If even Englishmen make such assertions, it is not surprising that they should be accepted as true by the Native Press.

* Easy Lessons on Money Matters. † January, 1884, p. 12.

‡ Finances and Public Works of India, p. 11.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* would wish the Committee of Inquiry, proposed by Mr. Slagg, to visit India making themselves "personally acquainted with the state of misery to which the people have been reduced under the Christian rule of England." Oct. 22, 1885.

The *Liberal*, another Calcutta paper, has the following :—

"The present system treats the contentment of India and even the stability of the British Empire as of only secondary importance compared with the personal and selfish interests of the classes who, like an immense vampire, have sat brooding over India and draining her almost to her heart's blood during the last century and more." Nov. 8th, 1885.

The *Hindu*, the leading Madras Native paper, thus describes the state of things :—

"English merchants during a sway of nearly a century rifled the land of all its wealth. A century of plunder! And now what has succeeded it? The "spoliation of India," has it ceased? Certainly not. It is going on as vigorously as ever." Oct. 1st, 1885.

A few months ago the Editor of the *Gujarati*, a Bombay newspaper in the Gujarati language, published a book entitled, *Hind and Britannia*, dedicated to Lord Ripon. The following is an extract :—

"Even after the Mutiny, Britannia a proud wench, a bloated girl, flint-hearted and black-hearted, and still full of avarice and deceit, remained the same.....Deceitful in greed, puffed up in inebriety, mad in thy vanity, thou hast swelled too much, hast come out best in inflicting harm, and hast grown fearless in amassing wealth."*

The *Poona Sarva Janik Sabha Journal* is far more moderate in its statements, but it says :—

"On a calm and comprehensive review of the economic situation in India, it is impossible to resist the conviction that, in spite of all the benevolent intentions and efforts of government, in spite of railways and canals, and in spite too, of growing trade and extending agriculture, the country is getting day by day poorer in material wealth as well as weaker in productive capacity and energy."

Any proofs to the contrary from official sources are contemptuously brushed aside as only showing "by what distortion of facts and fallacious logic the boasts of the Indian bureaucracy have to be made to look plausible."† True they are corroborated by *The Times* and the Anglo-Indian press; but these are only "empiric financiers," with "crude notions on economic subjects."‡ The misfortune also is that they are so incorrigibly dull, that all efforts to enlighten them are useless. The *Indian Spectator*, as will be seen from the following extract, is inclined to give them up in despair :—

"There are empiric financiers who would have us believe that India is growing richer because her export trade is fast growing. With such it

* Quoted from *Times of India* by *Bombay Guardian*, Oct. 3, 1885.

† *The Hindu*, Sept. 26, 1885. ‡ *The Hindu*.

is useless to argue, because they fail to understand the true significance of the increased exports. We have again and again demonstrated in these columns the fallacy that increased exports from India are a sign of accumulating wealth. They mean nothing of the kind. In fact, they point and that most emphatically to the opposite conclusion, namely, that they are a sure index of the drain of wealth from India."

The above is quoted by *The Hindu* in its issue of October 25, 1885, but the following opinion had been previously expressed :—

"The enormous growth of foreign trade does not in the least indicate growing prosperity in the condition of the people, although Anglo-Indian writers are never tired of appealing to it as an evidence of such prosperity. It simply indicates the indebtedness of India, and her growing material exhaustion." Jan. 16, 1885.

The young Madras politician, to whom reference has twice been made, takes the same view, although he has confounded exports and imports in his "Present Outlook":—

"The increasing poverty of India was due to the fact that the exports brought in an annual income of only 40 crores of rupees, while the imports that had to be paid for were valued at 60 crores of rupees a year. India was at one time wealthy and great, and the people should now strive to restore her from the low state into which she has drifted. (Applause)." *Madras Mail*, Nov. 2, 1885.

The ignorant and half-educated in all ages and in all countries have looked upon the past as the Golden, and the present as the Iron, Age. Ten centuries before the Christian era, Solomon gave the caution; "Say not the former days were better than these; for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." Pessimist views are entertained by some Englishmen regarding their own country as well as with respect to India. Macaulay says, "Since childhood I have been seeing nothing but progress, and hearing of nothing but decay." The evils now complained of are, he says, "with scarcely an exception old. That which is new, is the intelligence which discerns, and the humanity which remedies them." In the "good old times of England," "men died faster in the purest country air than they now die in the most pestilential lanes of our towns, and men died faster in the lanes of our towns, than they now die on the coast of Guinea."

The past, Tennyson says,

"shall always wear

A glory from its being far."

The words of Burke, applied to England last century, exactly represent the state of Native feeling in this country at present :—

"I know the obstinacy of unbelief in those perverted minds which have no delight but in contemplating the supposed distress, and predicting the immediate ruin of their country. These birds of evil presage at all times have grated our ears with their melancholy song; and by some strange fatality or other, it has generally happened that they have poured

forth their loudest and deepest lamentations at the periods of our most abundant prosperity.”*

It has been shown that the increase in the Public Debt of India was dictated, as in the case of Australia, by a wise policy, and that the “crushing load of taxation” averages 2 as. 8 p. (4d.) per month. The grand proof of India’s impoverishment has now to be considered—the supposed excess of her exports over her imports.

The excuse ought to be made that perhaps with regard to no science do “doctors differ” more than in the case of political economy. Conflicting views are held on some points by the highest authorities. Until quite recently, great importance was attached to the “Balance of Trade.” A country was supposed to be prosperous when its exports exceeded its imports. England was thought to be “going to the dogs,” because the case with her was the reverse. The fallacy of this was lately shown. All the circumstances must be taken into account before a correct estimate can be formed. According to the reasoning of the *Indian Spectator* and *The Hindu*, the United States, the richest country in the world, is on the “road to ruin” as well as India. The *American Almanac* for 1882, the latest in the possession of the writer, is edited by the Librarian of Congress. The total Imports and Exports for the five years ending in 1881 for the United States and England are given below:—

United States.				England.†	
		Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
		Dollars.†	Dollars.†	£†	£†
1877 ...	...	492	658	431	272
1878 ...	...	467	729	401	260
1879 ...	...	466	735	387	266
1880 ...	...	761	852	427	298
1881 ...	...	753	922	414	311
		2,939	3,896	2,000	1,407

It will be seen that the great Western Republic has been “bleeding to death” as rapidly as India—her exports in five years exceeding her imports by 957 million dollars, and that although no “immense” foreign “vampire has been draining her heart’s blood.”

The explanation of the apparent great increase in the Exports of India over her Imports is simple. In 1861 and 1862 they were nearly equal; why did they differ so much in 1881 and 1882?

Imports.‡				Exports.‡	
Rs.				Rs.	
1861 ...	...	...	341,707,980	340,901,540	
1862 ...	...	...	372,724,170	370,003,970	
1881 ...	...	...	621,049,840	700,210,430	
1882 ...	...	...	604,361,550	830,681,980	

* *Third Letter on a Regicide Peace*, quoted in *Finances and Public Works of India*, pp. 11, 12. † In both cases only millions are given. ‡ *Statistical Abstract*, 29th No., 1882. § *Statistical Abstract of British India*, 18th No., pp. 258, 259.

In 1861 the rupee was worth 2 shillings ; it gradually fell to its present value 1s. 6d. The exports are still estimated at the old rate of 2 shillings to the rupee, whereas Imports have the gold standard. If the former were reduced to the latter, the difference would not be very great. Still, as already shown by comparing the United States and England, great caution is necessary in drawing conclusions.

In considering whether India is richer or poorer than it was a century ago, perhaps the case of Australia may be taken as an illustration.

When it was discovered it had no cultivation, no roads, no railways, no buildings. A king of France asked a traveller about the condition of a foreign country which he visited. His reply was "Sire, it produces nothing and consumes nothing ;" on which the King justly remarked that this was saying much in few words. Such was the condition of Australia. The aborigines neither bought nor sold anything.

Now Australia has 4,576 miles of railway and 41,835 miles of telegraphic wire ; it has a number of cities with fine public buildings ; and in 1882 it had 71 millions of sheep. The annual revenue is 22 millions sterling, the average taxation per head amounting to Rs. 71. The value of the Imports and Exports exceeds 114 millions sterling. It is true there is a debt of 100 millions, but, as already explained, this is largely represented by railways which meet the interest.

It would be an insult to the understanding of any person to ask him whether Australia was richer or poorer now than when it came under British rule. What has been done in Australia, the English Government has been trying to do for India although under circumstances in some respects much more difficult.

In ancient India, Princes regarded their kingdoms as their private property, from which they drew what they pleased. Their courts blazed with gold and jewels, giving a false idea of the wealth of the country ; but beneath this glitter lay the misery of the many. The lives of millions of families depended each autumn on a few inches more or less of rainfall. The calamities inseparable from such a condition of things were intensified by invasions from without ; by rebellions, feuds, and hordes of banditti within ; and by the perpetual oppression of the weak by the strong. There is more accumulated wealth held by Natives in Calcutta and Bombay—cities which a couple of centuries ago were mere mud-hut hamlets,—than all the treasures of the Imperial and local courts under the Mughal Empire.*

Among the proofs that India is growing in wealth, the following may be mentioned.

* *England's Work in India*, pp. 58. 59.

1. *The annual value of the produce of the soil has greatly increased.*—The area under cultivation has been largely extended. In 1789 one-third of Bengal lay unoccupied. As has already been mentioned, Assam alone now yields each year produce to the value of 18 crores—equal to the cost of the India army. In the Madras Presidency, the area under cultivation rose from 9½ millions of acres in 1853 to 20 millions in 1876.

2. *Commerce has been greatly developed.*—The total amount of exports and imports per head is a very good test of the wealth of a country. They show how much a people have to sell, how much they can afford to buy. An Australian savage did neither the one nor the other. At present the average of Australian commerce is £35 per head. England ranks next with £20 per head.*

“Early in the last century, before the English became the ruling power in India, the country did not produce a million sterling a year of staples for exportation. During the first three-quarters of a century of our rule, the exports slowly rose to about eleven millions in 1830. During the half century which has elapsed since that date, they have quickly multiplied by sixfold. In 1880 India sold to foreign nations 66 millions sterling worth of strictly Indian produce, which the Indian husbandman had reared, and for which he was paid. In that year the total trade of India, including exports and imports, exceeded 122 millions sterling.

“When we obtained Calcutta in 1686, it consisted of three mud hamlets, scarcely raised above the river slime, without any trade whatever. After a century and a half of British rule, the total value of the sea-borne trade of Calcutta in 1820 was 12 millions sterling. In 1879, it had risen to over 61½ millions sterling, besides 45 millions of trade with the interior, making a total commerce of 106 millions sterling a year at a town which had not ten pounds’ worth of external trade when the British settled there.”†

In the year ended 1883, the total Imports and Exports amounted to 150 crores, against 93 crores in 1873. This increase is largely due to railways enabling bulky articles to be exported. Taking the population as 240 millions in 1873 and 253 millions in 1883, the trade per head rose from about Rs. 4 in 1873 to Rs. 6½ in 1883.

It is lamentable in how many ways reckless assertions are made, calculated to poison the minds of the people against the English. The *Liberal* makes the following statement:—

“Doubtless, English enterprise and capital are seeking out the valuable products of India which can be worked for the markets of the world. But the result is that the whole gain in these enterprises goes with the English capitalist, while the Native labourer is left to appropriate whatever he can pick up in gleaning.” Nov. 8. 1885.

Two of India’s exports, tea and coffee, are due entirely to English enterprise and capital, and indigo to a considerable extent. Still,

* Whittaker’s Almanac for 1885, p. 244.

† *England’s Work in India*, pp. 39, 40.

in 1883, out of a total export of 83 crores, they amounted only to about 9 crores against 74 crores of purely native produce. Instead of English capitalists getting "the whole gain," there are numbers of coffee-planters who invested their all in their estates, laboured on them for years, and in their old age found themselves destitute. The "native labourer" is the only one who has gained. Tea and indigo are better; but in not a few cases the "English capitalists" have been beggared.

The "Appeal to the British Electorate" states, apparently as a grievance, that "the industrial development of the country is, to a great extent, in foreign hands." If such is the case, it simply arises from the want of enterprise on the part of Indians. But the view is short-sighted. European intelligence and capital may commence an industry; but in the long run it falls largely into native hands. The *Madras Mail* gives an illustration:—

"Mills (for spinning and weaving) were started by Europeans in Bombay with European capital, and they were conducted by Europeans. Observant and opulent natives were however not slow to follow the lead of their European fellow-townsmen, or to learn from European masters how to control machinery. Ere long mills were founded with native capital, and are now controlled entirely by native agency." *Sept. 30, 1885.*

3. *India has been enriched by public buildings, roads, railways, and irrigation canals.*—"The English," says Dr. Hunter, "have had to build up, from the very foundations, the fabric of a civilised government. The material framework for such a government, its court houses, public buildings, barracks, jails, hospitals, and schools, have cost not less than a hundred millions sterling." The statistics of roads are incomplete, those in Bengal and the Bombay Presidency not being included. The other provinces contained, in 1883, 84,000 miles of road. As already stated there were 11,527 miles of railway open in 1884 and 3,355 in course of construction. The length of irrigation canals, including the smaller branches, is estimated at 13,000 miles. In 1883 there were 21,740 miles of telegraph lines.

The private buildings by which India has been enriched during the last century far exceed in value the public buildings.

It may be said that all these public works, &c., were paid for by the people of India. This is true; but they also belong to them.

4. *India now absorbs one-fourth of the gold and one-third of the silver produced throughout the whole world.*—Fifty years ago the gold and silver annually imported came to about 2 crores a year; now it averages 9 crores. In 1883, after deducting exports, it amounted to nearly 12½ crores. Since 1840, after deducting exports, India has received gold and silver to the amount of 359 crores.

"Empiric financiers" may consider this a proof of India's growing wealth, but the "intelligent native press" know better. *The Hindu,*

after demolishing the English fallacy that an increase of commerce denotes an increase of wealth, proceeds to refute another :—

“ Others again mention the increase in the import of gold and silver as a sign of growing prosperity of the people. This is again fallacious. Gold and silver are imported only in exchange for our exports, and imply no addition to our wealth.” Nov. 5th, 1885.

Let this be tested in common life. A farmer, at the age of 30, has 100 acres of land and Rs. 100 in the Bank. When 50 years of age, he has the same quantity of land, but Rs. 2,000 in the Bank. According to *The Hindu* this is “ no addition to his wealth,” for he gave the produce of his farm in exchange for the money !

The *Indian Spectator* makes the net imports of gold and silver since 1801 as £442,838,927. From this amount it makes the following deductions ; coinage £248,565,661 and 50 millions alleged exports to Native States, Tibet &c. “ The net grand total accumulation of specie in India will be just 140 millions sterling for the 84 years”—a mere trifle worthy of two notes of exclamation.

It may be asked are *rupees* not *specie* ? Does it matter whether the precious metals are in the form of bullion or coin ? Are rupees not melted down as well as sovereigns ?

Taking the amount hoarded as only 140 millions, this would nearly clear off the whole National Debt. At 5 per cent interest it would yield 7 crores a year. At 12 per cent, a very common rate, it would realise nearly 17 crores.

But the amount hoarded or locked up in jewels is not less than 200 crores. At 12 per cent interest, it would more than pay the Land Revenue. Properly used, money is the seed corn of money, and in few countries is it more needed than in India. Here, however, its harvest sometimes consists of robberies and murders.

During the “ Zenana Day” at a recent Lucknow exhibition, “ Native ladies, wrapped in costly *chaddars* and tinkling with their gold and silver ornaments, were gaping astonished as they beheld Lady Dufferin in her plain black costume, and asked in loud whispers, ‘ What ! is the plainly dressed woman *the Lady*, the Viceroy’s wife ? ’ ”

Their surprise at the appearance of the Empress of India, except on State occasions, would be equally great.

If for no other cause than to avoid being pestered for jewels by ignorant wives with the tastes of children, it would be politic for husbands to encourage female education.

Other facts might be mentioned, showing the improvement in the general condition of the people. One mark of this is the substitution of brass vessels for domestic use instead of earthenware. The imports of copper, tin, and zinc increased from Rs. 6,707,880 in 1874, to Rs. 22,803,700 in 1883. The people care more for their

personal comfort. In 1874 umbrellas were imported to the amount of Rs. 902,460 ; in 1883 to Rs. 2,328,290.

That there are still millions in the country constantly on the verge of starvation and that earnest efforts ought to be made to alleviate their condition, are both fully admitted ; but the assertion that India is becoming impoverished under British rule is just the reverse of the truth. India never was richer than it is at present.

Before concluding this chapter some remarks may be made on what is supposed to be at the root of India's misery.

The Alleged Selfishness of the English.—If we do not “ see ourselves as others see us ” in India, it is our own fault, for some Native editors use “ great plainness of speech ” on the subject. *The Hindu* says,

“ We cannot say that the English are wicked. There are many good and virtuous English men and women. But we can most truthfully say that the English are the most avaricious and selfish people in the world.” Nov. 25. 1885.

The *Madras Mail* quotes the following from the *Sarabhi*, a Bengali paper :—

“ English merchants have come here to turn a penny by fair means or foul. They are perfect masters of envy, intrigue, and malice.” Dec. 13th, 1885.

It is a little consolation to our wounded self-esteem that some of their own portraits, painted by themselves, are equally flattering. The *Hindu Patriot* has the following :—

“ The *Bunga Darsana*, in reviewing Babu Raj Narayana Bose's Lecture, entitled *Akal ar Sekal*, The Present and the Past, gives the following picture of the Bengali Babu of the Period :—

“ The Dispenser of all events had embodied in Teeluttuma, the female beauty gathered in fragments from the beauties of women of the universe ; similarly the character of the Bengali of this modern era presents in a collected form the propensities of the various species of beasts. The cunning of the jackal, flattery and mendicancy of the dog, timidity of the sheep, imitateness of the monkey, and the habit of braying from ass, a combination of these virtues forms the world-illuminating Bengali of the present age, who is the hope of India, and the object of Professor Max Müller's admiration.”

Professor Huxley says that “ the English conception of Paradise ” is “ getting on.” No doubt this is what brought the great majority of them to India, as it is the cause why some Hindus go to England. In the lively “ Letters from Madras,” by the wife of a civilian, she says that the favourite occupation when men of the service met was to “ conjugate I will be a collector, you will be a collector, he will be a collector,” &c., which made her “ decline listening.”

Human nature is much the same all the world over. Selfishness is not confined to the English. Eighteen centuries ago the Apostle

Paul wrote, "All seek their own." While such a spirit is to be condemned, selfish people may yet be of much benefit to a country. Unjust wars have sometimes been the means of conferring great blessings upon the conquered nation. In ordinary life, through the wise arrangement of Providence, men may do the greatest service to the public when they are thinking of nothing but their own interest.

There is often a loud outcry against grain merchants, but it is they who prevent people being starved when there is a famine. "The grain merchant is only thinking of gaining for himself a profit on his capital like any other trader; but the way he takes to secure this profit, which is by buying up grain when it is cheap, and selling it when dear, is exactly the way in which the plentiful crop of one year may supply the defect of another, so that there may not be first waste and then famine."*

A farmer raises grain simply for his own profit, although other people would starve if he did not. A shopkeeper does not commence business for the benefit of the public, and he sells the best articles at the lowest rates he can simply to attract custom. A lawyer studies hard to attain a high rank in his profession merely to secure more clients.

Granting that the English are the "most avaricious and selfish people in the world," that English merchants come here simply "to turn a penny," it is for their own interest that the people of India should be rich and prosperous. The more the people have to sell, the more they are able to buy, the better it will be for the merchants. The capital they introduce is the life's blood of commerce. They have opened up fresh sources of industry; through their competition ryots get higher prices for their produce, and can purchase goods at cheaper rates. No men have done more to increase the wealth of India than the maligned English merchants. It is equally advantageous to the "bureaucracy" that India should be rich. More new "useless offices" with "extravagant salaries" could thus be created to provide for their poor relations. The greater the quantity of blood in the victim, the more there would be for the "immense vampire to drain off."

The truth is that the real interests of the English and Indians are identical. Both are benefiting one another, even when merely seeking their own gain.

An old book says, "The labourer is worthy of his hire." Suppose a skilful superintendent takes charge of a badly managed estate, and in few years increases its productiveness fivefold. In sharing the profits, there may be selfishness on the part of the proprietor as well as in the superintendent.

* Archbishop Whately.

The struggle for existence is not confined to India. The late Colonel Sykes, for many years resident in this country, says, "Poverty and wretchedness exist in all countries; but this much I can say, that in similar limited areas I never witnessed in India such an amount of squalid misery as it has been my misfortune to witness in my personal inquiries in London and elsewhere, into the condition of the labouring classes."*

The recent "Bitter Cry of Outcast London" shows that the misery still exists.

It will require the most strenuous efforts both of Europeans and Indians to cope with the difficult task of meeting the needs of this country.

AGRICULTURAL REFORM.

This is by far the most important point connected with the improvement of the material condition of the people. It is the chief way by which the underfed millions can obtain a better supply of food. Manufactures are also of great value; but they are secondary compared with agriculture. They will be noticed in the succeeding chapter.

Need of Improvement.—About 80 per cent of the population depend directly or indirectly upon agriculture for a livelihood. The bulk of the people marry and multiply without any more thought of the future than rabbits in a warren. "They are not like the small landowners of France," says Caird, "who are self-restrained, frugal, industrious, and improving cultivators." In former times the population was kept down by war, pestilence, and famine. The *Pax Britannica* prevents the ravages of the first; vaccination, hospitals, &c., reduce the mortality from the second; roads, railways, &c., with the expenditure of millions, alleviate the third. In spite, however, of severe famines the population increased 12 millions during the last decade: the normal rate is probably much higher.

W. R. Robertson, Esq., Superintendent of the Government Farms, Madras, remarks:—

"A primitive system of husbandry, which sufficed to meet the wants of a scanty population, when there was plenty of good land available, no longer suffices, now that the demand for human food has become so great, and such a large area of poor soil has to be tilled."

Government must interfere. Dr. Hunter justly says,

"The principle of *laissez faire* can, in fact, be safely applied only to self-governing nations. The English in India are now called upon, either to stand by and witness the pitiless overcrowding of masses of hungry human beings, or to aid the people in increasing the food supply to meet their wants." p. 130.

* Kaye's Administration of the East India Company, p. 716.

Practicability of Improvement.—Sir James Caird, probably the highest agricultural authority in England, says,

—“The agricultural system, except in the richer and irrigated lands, is to eat or sell every saleable article the land produces, to use the manure of the cattle for fuel, and to return nothing to the soil in any proportion to that which is taken away.....Crop follows crop without intermission, so that Indian agriculture is becoming simply a process of exhaustion.” *Famine Report*, p. 8.

Sir R. Temple says that “eleven bushels of grain per acre are produced in India as compared with thirty in England.” This rate in England was obtained only gradually. In the days of Queen Anne it was about 15 bushels; towards the close of last century the yield was about 20 bushels. In England the average yield according to Mark Lane returns is now about 32 bushels; in Scotland it has advanced to 40.*

Dr. Hunter admits that it is not possible at one bound to introduce scientific agriculture; but he thinks sufficient progress might be made to meet the exigencies of the case. According to Sir James Caird, if one bushel an acre could be added to the produce of Indian fields, it would feed 22 millions. Dr. Hunter shows that to meet the increase of population all that is required is to add $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year to the produce.

Means of Improvement.—Only a few can be noticed.

1. *An inquiry into the present condition of ryots and the practicability of ameliorating it by changes in the fiscal arrangements of Government.*

Some information has already been collected; but more is necessary. Dr. Hunter, Director-General of Statistics, says,

“It has been my duty to find out precisely what amount of information exists with regard to the agriculture of India; and to compare that information with the facts which the Governments of Europe and America supply on the same points. I have come to the conclusion that no central Government stands more in need of agricultural knowledge than the Government of India, and that no Government has a smaller stock of such knowledge within its central body.”†

Very conflicting opinions are expressed on some of the most important questions. The Madras Delegate made the following statement at Aberdeen:—

“The assessment was very high. Nominally it was said to be one-third of the gross produce, but as a matter of fact it varied in many instances from forty to fifty per cent. of the gross produce—(cries of ‘Shame’). And this was not the only thing. Every thirty years the assessment was revised. Of course revision meant enhancement. There was enhancement every time that revision took place.”‡

* *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1885. p. 796. † *England's Work in India*, p. 93.

‡ Quoted in *The Hindu*, Dec. 26, 1885.

The Hindu has the following :—

“Our ‘beneficent’ government, as the learned writer on Revenue Administration in the Madras Presidency in our columns has incontrovertibly proved, takes to itself no less than 47 per cent. of the produce, (and) levies innumerable other contributions.” Oct. 13, 1885.

On the other hand, Mr. Justice Cunningham, one of the Famine Commissioners, gives a very different account of the pressure of land taxation :—

“The usual share claimed from the cultivator by Native Governments was three-fifths of the gross produce of the soil, out of which the zemindar was generally allowed a tenth or three-fiftieths of the whole, as a reward for his services in collection. The cultivator was thus left with two-fifths of his crop for his own maintenance and the expenses of cultivation. But the share of the gross produce now claimed as land revenue has sunk under British rule from more than a half to a proportion ranging between three and eight per cent ($\frac{3}{10}$ to $\frac{8}{100}$), and though local cesses add a fraction to this percentage, the proportion at present received by Government is a mere fraction of that which, under Akbar’s famous settlements, was claimed as an unquestionable and immemorial due.”*

The Land Tax, so far from being increased, has been reduced as a rule at each re-settlement. The following table shows the average rates per acre in the Madras Presidency† :—

	Dry Land.				Irrigated Land.			
	RS.	A.	P.	£. s. d.	RS.	A.	P.	£. s. d.
1852-3	1	3	11	0 2 6	7	0	11	0 14 1½
1875-6	1	0	11	0 2 1½	4	8	11	0 9 1½

The present percentage of the Madras Government demand on the estimated gross value of crops is 6·3 per cent, or $\frac{1}{15}$, instead of 40 or 50 per cent according to Mr. Mudeliyar. His assertion carries absurdity on the face of it. If the government share of 21 millions sterling amounted even to one-third of the whole crop, half the population must long ago have perished.

As the idea is widely prevalent that ryots are “rack-rented” by Government, it is desirable to appoint a *Mixed* Commission of Inquiry, composed of officials and non-official Natives in equal numbers. The latter should be well-known men, commanding general confidence.

The investigation, however, should not be confined to the amount of the government demand. There is a growing feeling that our Revenue system requires modification. Mr. Justice Cunningham, one of the Famine Commissioners, mentions several suggestions under this head.

Mr. Hume says,

“Wherever we turn we find agriculturists burthened with debts running on at enormous rates of interest. In some districts, even provinces,

* British India and its Rulers, p. 166. † *Ibid*, p. 141.

the evil is all-absorbing—a whole population of paupers, hopelessly meshed in the wiles of usurers.”*

Dr. Hunter says,

“It has been my duty to make inquiries in every province of India as to the interest which money yields. I find that for small loans to the cultivators the old native rate of $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum still prevails.”†

Such a rate it has been remarked “would be fatal to successful agricultural enterprise in any country.”

Under the present system, the ryot is at the mercy of the money-lender, who not only charges enormous interest, but takes over the crop at his own valuation. The poor ryot has only enough to keep body and soul together.

Mr. E. C. Buck, Secretary to Government in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, says,

“The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural classes is an indigenous one. The money-lender has taken the place of Government.”‡

Agricultural Banks have been proposed, but they would require an expensive machinery, and it would be impossible to work them on the requisite scale.

The Famine Commission Report says,

“It should therefore be the policy of the Government to advance money freely and on easy terms on the security of the land, wherever it can be done without serious risk of ultimate loss.” p. 56.

A full statement of the case by Mr. A. Harington, C. S., will be found in the *Calcutta Review* for 1883.

No doubt there are difficulties. A Bombay paper says, “We have known cases in which the borrower had to pay so much to the kulkarani and patil and security and witnesses that hardly fifty per cent of the loan remained in his hand.” Days are also lost in arranging for the loan.

The Famine Commissioners notice several changes, which would render the system of Government advances more popular.

A correspondent in a Madras paper suggests that even an alteration in the times of collection would be of essential benefit.

Bengal has had so much controversy on the land question that the inquiry might be limited to the Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

2. *The establishment of a well-organised and efficient Agricultural Department.*

Lord Mayo was probably the only Governor-General of India who ever farmed for a livelihood. “Many a day,” he used to say, “have I stood the livelong day in the market selling my beasts.”

* Agricultural Reform, p. 62. † *England's Work in India*, p. 42.

‡ Quoted in *Calcutta Review* for 1883, p. 153.

He felt that improved agriculture was the greatest need for the "material" progress of India, and drew up a most comprehensive and well-devised scheme for the agricultural improvement of India, explained in Mr. Hume's *Agricultural Reform in India*. The Secretary of State ruled that *Revenue*, not *Agriculture*, should be the main object of the new Department. Lord Mayo's scheme was so mutilated that the poor rump became an object of derision, and finally received the *coup-de-grace*. This shows the evils of an ignorant interference on the part of a mere English politician.

The Famine Commission again urged upon Government the carrying out of Lord Mayo's plans.

135. "A Director of Agriculture should be appointed for each Province as executive head of the Department, chosen for his knowledge of the condition of the people, and particularly of the agricultural classes. He would directly control the special statistical officers and would be the adviser of the Local Government in all matters relating to agriculture and statistics. In ordinary times he should discharge these duties and superintend all measures designed to improve the agriculture of the country, and in times of famine he would be the officer responsible for warning the government as to the agricultural outlook and for preparing such a forecast as should guide it in issuing instructions and setting on foot measures of relief. A corresponding officer should perform analogous duties under the Government of India, assisting it in its dealings with the Local Governments in the Agricultural Department and in the supervision of the Local Directors of Agriculture. All these officials and a certain proportion of the special officers in each district should have been prepared for their duties by a technical training in scientific and practical agriculture."

Great advantage was desired even from the visit of an agriculturist like Sir James Caird. The Government of India should have a Director-General of Agriculture, of similar calibre, who should be a member of the Imperial Council. Each Presidency should have its Agricultural College for a thorough training. At the recent International Conference on Education, considerable differences of opinion were expressed with regard to agricultural teaching. In the mofussil, there might be "Schools."

Two classes have to be kept in view.

There are a few zemindars interested in agriculture who have sufficient means to avail themselves of modern improvements. There should be superior Model Farms as a guide for such.

For the great body of ryots, Model Farms should be of such a size and furnished with such implements as would be within the average means of the class sought to be benefited.

A very simple Agricultural Text-Book for ryots is required, somewhat in the style of Tanner's *Alphabet of Agriculture*, or Martin Doyle's lessons for Irish peasants.

The rule, "Begin at the bottom and work upwards," requires to be followed. It is nearly useless to point out to poor ryots improvements beyond their means.

Some progress has already been made in the organization of an Agricultural Department, but it is still very imperfect. Lord Mayo's scheme should be fully carried out.

The expense may be considered the great difficulty, but it is proposed to meet the outlay from the "Famine Fund." See remarks under "Ways and Means" at the end of the next chapter.

3. *An Agricultural Survey.*—The first step to the improvement of Native Agriculture is to understand it thoroughly. Two or three years might well be devoted to its study. During a recent visit to China and Japan, it seemed to the writer that an officer like Mr. Buck might examine with great advantage the systems of agriculture in these countries. The amount of the land revenue and its mode of collection might form another inquiry. Already some valuable Chinese and Japanese plants have been introduced into India, and there may be others which would be suitable.

4. *The enlightenment of the ryots.*—Mr. Robertson, of Madras, rightly regards this as the root of improvement. The Bombay *Dnyanodaya* says,

"Until a moral reformation takes place in the characters and habits of the farmers and borrowers generally, we fear it is impossible for any act or any body to help them much. If hard experience and suffering do not teach the borrowers prudence and economy, special favors will not do this."

The ryot should be taught, among other things, the comparative results from spending Rs. 25 on a feast or a gold ornament and on the purchase of a good plough.

A good tract, to be widely circulated among ryots, is much wanted. It should point out the evil effects of some of their habits, and indicate a more excellent way. Franklin's "Poor Richard's Almanac" would furnish a model. It should abound with native proverbs. Most of the ryots, it is true, cannot read, but education is gradually spreading.

Past Failures.—It may be alleged that these are not a few; but, as a rule, it is only in this way that success has ultimately been achieved. The Department hitherto has been starved, and those connected with it have often been made to know the bitterness of "hope deferred." On the other hand, much valuable information has been acquired, and there are practical results which well compensate for the outlay.

Sources of Information.—The foregoing remarks treat very imperfectly of a great subject. The following works may be consulted:

The *Famine Commission Report* contains a large amount of useful information, the salient points of which are given in Mr. Justice Cunningham's *British India and its Rulers*. Mr. Hume's *Agricultural Reform in India*, Mr. S. M. Hossein's *Our Difficulties and Wants in India*, and various publications by Mr. Robertson of Madras, are also valuable. Mr. Green, the Ceylon Director of Public Instruction, has taken a warm interest in Agriculture, and published an edition of Mr. Robertson's *Agricultural Class Book*, adapted to the Island.

Agricultural Distress in other Countries.—Ignorant native writers try to throw the whole blame of the poverty of the ryots upon the British Government; but it is much the same in most other parts of the world. Mr. Hyndman, author of "Bleeding to Death," says that,

"Recent official reports in France prove beyond the possibility of question that the landholding peasantry are suffering terribly, and that they actually fare worse than our agricultural labourers. Similar truths in respect to small properties have been made manifest by the reports of the Imperial Commissions on the impoverished condition of the small cultivation in Baden-Baden and Alsace-Lorraine."*

Lady Verney thus describes what she saw:—

"But in France and Germany the cultivation of the small plots is only rendered possible by the slavish toil of the women and children—out in every weather, ground down with misery and hard work, mowing and ploughing (we have seen three in one field), making hay by taking it up in their arms and scattering it abroad, spreading dung with wretched little forks, lifting great sacks of potatoes, cutting wood, treading the manure heaps with bare legs every evening, carrying baskets of it on their bare hair.

"The number of maimed, halt and deformed women and children whom we saw—sitting guarding the cow with a string during her breakfast—three or four sheep or a goat; flopping down in the damp grass and the mud, risking the human life which should have been the most valuable of their possessions—was dismal indeed to witness; and we were told repeatedly by doctors that the sickliness and malformation of the children was occasioned by the mothers going out all day, and being unable to attend to them."

MANUFACTURES AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Four years ago the writer, in a letter to Lord Ripon on "Education in India" gave six pages to this heading. Happily during the interval the subject has attracted so much attention that remarks under it may be briefer than before.

* *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1885, p. 835.

† *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1885, p. 797.

Importance.—The Famine Commissioners begin this section of their Report by saying :—

“ We have elsewhere expressed our opinion that at the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete, which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such support.”

Among the means of developing the manufactures and commerce of India, the following may be mentioned :—

A Special Government Agency.—Next to a Director-General of Agriculture, a Director-General of Commerce is needed. Like him also he should rank as a Member of Council. A man somewhat like Sir Lyon Playfair is required. He should have little office work, but be free to move about the country, inspecting every thing *in situ*, and consulting all on the spot able to afford information. Civilians, officers of the geological survey, merchants, and others, could be turned to valuable account. Most civilised countries in the world have Ministers of Commerce, and nowhere is one more needed than in India.

In addition, trained Provincial Directors are required.

An Industrial Survey.—Few men have done more in drawing attention to Indian Products and Manufactures than Dr. Forbes Watson, formerly of the India Office. He thus shows the need of an Industrial Survey of India being undertaken by Government :—

“The whole of the advanced portion of Europe is, in consequence of the development of commerce, covered by a network of private agency, the express purpose of which it is to indicate to the consumer the best sources of supply, and to offer to the producer the best means of realizing his products. A similar organization exists, of course, in India also, but only in a rudimentary state and restricted to some principal towns, and to a few of the principal staples, although no doubt it would grow in time by its own efforts.”

“To shorten, however, in India, the period of preliminary trials, and unavoidable failures, and to hasten the advancement of the country appears to be in the power of the Government, which, although unable to take the place of individual enterprise, may promote inquiries which will facilitate its task. Public, as distinguished from private, action, assumes, therefore, in India much larger proportions than it does here, and it will be acknowledged that this has always been the admitted policy of the Government of India. Much has already been effected with respect to opening up the country by means of information. The trigonometrical, topographical, revenue, and geological surveys, have been undertaken on a scale of perhaps unprecedented magnitude. It remains to complete them by an industrial survey which shall take stock of all the various

productions of the country—agricultural, forestal, pastoral, and mineral—of manufactures, of the localities of production, of the varieties, qualities, and values of produce, its supply, mode of distribution and consumption.”

It is satisfactory that steps have already been taken in the above direction, although on a very small scale. The following is quoted from *The Times* :—

“The Indian Famine Commission having expressed its views as to the desirability of encouraging a diversity of occupations and the development of new branches of industry in India, the Government of Madras submitted certain proposals, which embraced the temporary appointment of a Government Reporter on arts and manufactures, and a Government Mineralogist. Looking to the importance of the subject, the Secretary of State has accorded his sanction to the proposal.”

Mr. Wardle has just been sent out by the Home Government to see what can be done to restore the silk industries of India, once of great importance. Tusser silk pays well, and it would give employment to thousands of women and children.

Technical Education.—Each Presidency should have a Technical College, under a well-qualified European Principal. Attached to it there should be two or three European workmen, thoroughly acquainted with special industries. Institutions, like the Madras School of Arts, already exist and are doing excellent service, but they require to be strengthened.

Each District should also have an Industrial School, under Native Management, where instruction of a humbler character might be given. The development of agriculture and manufactures will lead to an increased demand for improved implements, &c.

Some efforts are being made to introduce industrial training into Grant-in-Aid Rules.

Co-operation on the part of the People.—Hercules, in the fable, came only to the assistance of the waggoner who was trying to help himself. English and Native manufacturers and merchants have in India exactly the same privileges, and both have their respective advantages. As in England, those who display most judgment and enterprise, are the most successful. If “foreigners” have what is thought an undue proportion, it is because they deserve it. Hindus have no more right to complain of foreigners outstripping them in commerce than the Muhammadans have to complain of Hindus securing more Government offices. It has already been explained that the jealousy of “foreigners” is also short-sighted. As pioneers they may reap the first fruits, but the great harvest ultimately falls to the people of the country.

The Famine Commissioners named the following branches of industry as deserving attention :—

“The manufacture and refining of sugar; the tanning of hides; the manufacture of fabrics of cotton, wool, and silk; the preparation of

fibres of other sorts, and of tobacco; the manufacture of paper, pottery, glass, soap, oil, and candles." p. 176.

The Hon. A. Mackenzie, an English merchant, one of those men who, according to the *Sarabhi*, are "perfect masters of envy, intrigue and malice," gave some excellent advice to the students of Pacheappah's Institution, Madras. He said,

"India pays Europe every year about 50 lakhs for paper alone. Every rupee of that money ought to be kept in this country. Materials for making far more paper than India wants is rotting away in your jungles, your fields, by your roadsides. India should sell paper instead of buying it. There are many other articles of which I could tell you, but there is not time, nor perhaps is this the right occasion to go through a Custom House schedule of imports." *Madras Mail*, April 15th, 1884.

It is satisfactory that progress is being made. There are now in India 90 cotton mills, with a capital of $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores, consuming annually 235 million pounds of cotton, and giving employment to 70,000 operatives. Paper mills are increasing in number. The following is an extract from a recent Poona paper :—

"We have now two paper mills in a fair way towards completion—one near Mundwa, on the railway line, and the other near Karakwasla, both of which, it is expected, will shortly be placed in active working order. Some local soap works have been doing good work in the way of supplying the Commissariat Department, besides disposing of large quantities to both Bombay and Madras dealers. Lastly, it refers to the erection of factories for the production of lead-pencils and matches.

Babu S. P. Chatterjee, of the Victoria Nursery Gardens, Calcutta, is an excellent example of what is required. In the pursuit of his business he has visited all parts of India, the Straits, China, the Philippine Islands, Australia, and last year he visited England. Sir Richard Garth, Chief Justice of Bengal, gave him an introduction to Sir Joseph Hooker, the greatest English botanist, and Sir Ashley Eden gave him an introduction to Lord Hartington. During his stay at Covent Garden he was allowed to assist in preparing the bridal bouquet for the Princess Beatrice. He has returned to India with 40 cases of South American orchids and other plants.

India has already a superabundance of place-hunters and lawyers, the need is of more *producers*—not of *consumers*.

Ways and Means.

How is the proposed expenditure on Agricultural and Technical Education to be met? will probably be the first question that suggests itself to the Finance Minister, already perplexed to make both ends meet. The Famine Commission Reports hints that it might be "fairly chargeable against the Special Famine Surplus." p. 63.

Government has set apart a Famine Insurance Fund of a million and a half sterling a year. The question is, how can it be employed to most advantage?

It is admitted that it is prudent to devote half of it to clearing off Famine Debt or forming a Fund for future demands. The remaining moiety is expended on measures calculated to avert famine.

Improved Agriculture is the right hand to fight against famine, and developed Manufactures the left.

Large sums of money have been spent on supposed Famine Protective Works, some very useful, some nearly useless, some perhaps positively injurious. If there is one recommendation the Famine Commissioners make more than another, it is that careful continued investigation should precede every outlay. There is no better protective work against famine than to establish a well-organised Agricultural Department, as sketched by Lord Mayo, including a good system of Agricultural Instruction. It would be at once the noblest memorial of Lord Mayo, and a boon of the greatest value to the country. To it should be added the similar development of Manufactures.

The Agricultural Department might be roughly estimated to cost £200,000 a year;* the Department of Manufactures and Commerce, £50,000. The combined sum would be one-sixth of the Famine Fund. It would be some years, however, before the full amount could be expended with advantage. Meanwhile the Famine Fund might be accumulating, and works of pressing utility provided to some extent.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

So far as the Government of India is concerned, few questions are more important than the selection and training of Covenanted Civilians. Nearly every member of the Service, before the end of his course, will, either as a civil administrator or in a judicial capacity, preside over a district as populous as Wales; a considerable number, as Commissioners, will govern as many as the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; while a few will rule territories as populous as France or Austria. If every single man will have so much influence, how grave a question must be the training of the whole!

Mr. Cotton says in *New India*, "In any case the Indian Civil Service as at present constituted is doomed." (p. 79.)

Mr. Caird, in his Report, recommends that there should not be any privileged Civil Service, but that, except for the legal branch, officers selected from the army should be chosen. Any such change

* The Famine Commission Report estimates it roughly at £100,000.

would be most disastrous to the interests of India. On the contrary, the circumstances of the case require more than ever a highly-trained special service.

In olden times, Civilians were regarded almost as "mortal gods on earth." Now, Indian B. A.'s and M. A.'s are disposed to measure themselves with the "heaven-born," and sometimes to claim superiority. "Boy Magistrate" has become almost a term of contempt.

Selection.—Sir George Campbell said in 1853, "No principle is more incumbent on us strictly to observe than this, that all appointments which natives are capable of filling should be filled by natives."*

The Queen's Proclamation of 1859 contains the words:—

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, Our Subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

The Proclamation is conditional, though many are inclined to overlook the last clause. In some things Indians excel; in some things Europeans. The former are especially fitted for the Judicial Department. Warm testimony has been borne to their merits even as Judges of the High Court. In putting down an *emeute*, Europeans have an undoubted superiority. They have also a more independent position as being neither Hindus nor Muhammadans. Indians are not exempt from the supposed European weakness of providing for their "poor relations," and under the circumstances, they have much greater facilities for doing so in the exercise of patronage.

At the beginning of 1882, says Sir Evelyn Baring:—

"The Covenanted Service consisted almost entirely of Europeans. The Uncovenanted Service consisted of about two-thirds natives. Under existing rules the Covenanted Service will, in course of time, consist of at most five-sixths Europeans, and at least one-sixth of natives, whilst the number of natives in the Uncovenanted Service will considerably increase. Under the rules framed by Lord Lytton's Government in 1879, natives of India alone are generally to be appointed in the Uncovenanted Service. I do not think it would, for some years to come at all events, be wise to reduce the European staff in India to a greater extent than it will be reduced under the operation of the existing rules."†

Lord Lytton's proposals with regard to the appointment of Civilians in India were well intended—to bring into the service men belonging to the higher grades of Native society. The experiment however has not proved successful. The classes sought to be reached have not qualified themselves for the duties required. It is generally agreed that a change is necessary.

* *India as it may be*, p. 223.

† *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1883, pp. 575, 576.

The Bombay Congress passed the following Resolution :—

“That in the opinion of this Congress the examinations now held in England, if it be resolved to maintain them for various branches of the civil section of the public service, should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, ‘be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India,’ both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit, that the successful candidates of India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that the rest of the appointments should be filled by competitive examinations held in India calculated to secure such physical, intellectual and moral qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly the maximum age of the candidates for entrance into the Civil Service be raised to not less than 23.”

It is not desirable that Indian candidates should take up Latin or Greek. Provided the examinations are made *practically* of equal difficulty, and that the number of successful candidates be limited as mentioned by Sir Evelyn Baring, the above proposals are reasonable, *so far as the regular service is concerned.*

The age in England ought also to be raised to 22.

If the competition in India were thrown open to all, the number of candidates would be very great, leading to many disappointments and much discontent. It should be limited to graduates of the different universities, and satisfactory certificates should be required as to their physical fitness and moral character.

All things considered, it seems best to put an end to what is called the *Statutory Civil Service*. To transfer men from the Uncovenanted to the Covenanted Service gives rise to a suspicion of jobbery and creates discontent among the whole body of the latter. Another reason still more important is that such officers will not have had the home training which is desirable. Let there be definite prizes reserved for distinguished Uncovenanted men, without interfering with those belonging to the other Service.

Training of Civilians.—The present race of Civilians are considered good office men. The chief fault found with them is that, with some noble exceptions, they do not take the same interest in the country as their predecessors of the old *regime*. Caird says, “Everywhere the most common complaint is that they hold too much aloof from the people.” Two or three reasons partly account for this.

When communication with England was tedious and uncertain, Civilians felt, to a large extent, that India was their home. The ties that bind them to their native land are now strengthened by daily telegrams and weekly mails, exciting the feeling,

“Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.”

Another cause of lack of interest is the increase of routine work. In former days Civilians were not kept so much at the desk, and were more free to mix with the people.

Mr. Cotton, in *New India*, draws a melancholy picture of the sad lot of Indian Civilians. The "Enthusiasm of Humanity" seems greatly needed in their case.

There will always be some selfish men upon whom no course of training will have much effect. Their one object in India will be to scrape together as much as will enable them to retire and say, "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years." It seems possible, however, by judicious preparation to improve the service as a whole.

One means of leading Civilians to take more interest in India is to increase their knowledge of the country. Mr. S. Laing, an admirable Finance Minister, thus explains why some dislike India, and describes his own experience :—

"An interest in India is the *sine qua non* of success in an Indian career. Without it, life is a dreary banishment, burdensome to its owner, and only too often mischievous to those around. In the public service the Queen's hard bargains are those who are too dull or frivolous to feel any real interest in the glorious work before them, and who, instead of cultivating the natural history, the geography, the geology, or even the field-sports of the country, and studying the languages, the character, the history, and antiquities of its people, like the many Anglo-Indian heroes who have immortalized the service, can find no better mode of passing their leisure time than in drinking bitter beer, and grumbling at India.

"Even in the line of private enterprise, I suspect it will be found that the man who succeeds best is generally the man who likes the country, and who understands and sympathizes with the natives. Now I think a knowledge, however slight, of such facts as I have endeavoured to give the merest outline of to-day, can hardly fail to increase the interest of every Englishman in India. I know that it has increased my own interest in it immensely, and that a smattering of Indian history, ethnology, and philosophy, picked up long before I had the remotest idea of ever visiting India, have often been of the greatest service to me."

Besides imparting knowledge of the above nature, it is very desirable that the successful candidates should be together in a College like Haileybury. Sir George Campbell thus points out its advantages :—

"Far from dispensing with the system of special education, I would carry it much farther, and I think that the future efficiency of the profession very much depends on it. I likewise consider it anything but undesirable that the men who are in future to carry on the same duties in all the different parts of India should be brought together in, and started from, the same professional workshop; should drink of the same well of knowledge; should imbibe a certain *esprit de corps*; should form some personal acquaintance with one another; and should in future be

united by some common souvenirs. Haileybury is even now the only point of union of a widely-dispersed service, and, imperfect as it is, I believe that there results from it a beneficial common feeling and good understanding, which would be wanting in men picked up from different quarters and sent to India without any intercourse or acquaintance with one another.”*

There is a third reason for a revived Haileybury. The proportion of Indian candidates will gradually increase. It is most undesirable that such young men should be scattered over a place like London, free from all home restraints. It would also be beneficial to successful English candidates to form their first acquaintance with them in a College where all would meet on equal footing. Race antagonism threatens to be one of the greatest political dangers in India, and it is doubly important that men belonging to the same Service should be free from it as much as possible. Friendships might be formed at College between Englishmen and Indians which would last more or less through life.

Sir George Campbell suggests Cambridge for a new Haileybury. Oxford has taken the lead by its Indian Institute. The suburbs of London have also their advantages.

Departments of Service.—At Amoy a modest Chinaman has up the sign-board, “Every mortal thing can do.” The Government of India seems to have the same estimate of the capabilities of the members of its Covenanted Service. Sometimes they are appointed to offices of whose duties they are very ignorant, and that too over the heads of men who have made them their life-work, and to whom they justly belong. While in certain cases the results may be better, the general effect is injurious.

The separation of Revenue from Magisterial functions is a reform which has long been urged. The Memorial to the Madras Government shows that as early as 1802 the need was felt. It was advocated by Sir George Campbell in 1853. One obstacle doubtless has been the supposed additional cost. The Madras Memorial rightly tries to show how this may be met in Southern India.

A separation in some other departments may also be advisable, with the special training necessary.

Salaries.—Indian salaries are sometimes compared with those of Civil Servants in Ceylon, but there is an important difference. Ceylon, with a population of 2½ millions, has more than 80 civilians, or about 35,000 persons to each. Madras, with 31 millions, has 155, or 200,000 to each. The responsibilities are greater, and the salaries ought to be higher. The Ceylon Civil Servants are also underpaid. Sir Evelyn Baring says:—

“I am strongly of opinion that it would be false economy to reduce

* *India as it may be*, pp. 270, 271.

the pay of European members of the Covenanted Civil Service. If Europeans are necessary, it is of the highest importance that they should be competent men, that is to say, that they should have good constitutions, that they should be honest, and at least of good average ability. These qualities cannot be obtained unless the Government chooses to pay for them. An Indian career possesses less attraction than is often supposed. The work of administration in India is so difficult that it requires the cream of our schools and colleges to carry it on efficiently.”*

Practically, through the depreciation of silver, Indian salaries have been considerably reduced during the last few years. Civilians who have children to educate at home find the difference very serious. The recent income tax is a further deduction.

Native Civilians should receive the same salaries as Europeans. They are not too high for competent men. The cost of the Covenanted Civil Service to the people of India is only about two pies ($\frac{1}{4}d.$) a month per head. Any reduction here would be dearly purchased by a less efficient administration.

“Covenanted” says in the *Calcutta Review* :—

“The Indian service is said to be the purest administration in the world as regards its European members. But even here is there not something wanting? Are there not instances familiarly known to the members of the administrative services of men among them: (I speak of men of English birth) who are generally known to be untrustworthy, who are commonly suspected of being corrupt? Such things are not a secret, yet they seem very imperfectly known to the highest authorities; if they are known, the case becomes worse.”

The same writer directs attention also to the following :—

“A smaller point quite worth passing notice, on which improvement is still required, is the practice of receiving ‘dalis,’ or small presents, on occasions of visits from natives. Many of us have, I fancy, abjured such things entirely, and experience shows that the refusal, far from exciting resentment, may be accepted as evidencing a desire to see the visitor for his own sake. But in many parts, especially, perhaps, in outlying districts, the objectionable practice still prevails; a thrifty housewife has been heard to express her satisfaction at getting sugar and oranges enough in Christmas ‘dalis’ to make marmalade for all the year; a trivial matter truly to us, but one of real consequence often to the donors, who may be subordinate officials on small salaries. The thing is an anomaly, and an anachronism, and should be wholly brushed away like an obnoxious cobweb.” *April, 1885, p. 357.*

The reception of the smallest presents by an official or any member of his family, should be strictly forbidden. They are simply bribes to gain “master’s favour.” If presented to the lady, the donor is quite aware of the advantage of having a “friend at court.”

* *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1883, p. 576.

Royal Commission.—The growing difficulty of governing India is agreed upon all hands. A higher and higher grade of Indian officials is required. The present state of things is not at all satisfactory.

A Royal Commission, composed of the three noblemen already mentioned, the Earl of Iddesleigh, the Marquis of Ripon, and the Earl of Northbrook, would do admirably. Among the witnesses examined should be the Civil Service Commission; the heads of Colleges; "Old Indians," like Sir William Muir, Sir Robert Montgomery, and Sir Richard Temple; oriental scholars like Professors Max Müller, Monier Williams, and Cowell; lawyers like Lord Selborne and Sir Henry Maine; scientific men like Professor Huxley, Sir Lyon Playfair, Sir Joseph Hooker; men able to advise with regard to the development of Indian resources, as Sir James Caird, Sir George Birdwood, and others. Indian opinion could be obtained to a series of questions.

The Report of such a Commission would show how far improvement was practicable, and satisfy the Indian public.

The distribution of the loaves and fishes will form an increasing difficulty. The Indians may certainly be expected to follow the example of *Oliver Twist*. While this is reasonable within certain limits, justice to the people also demands that they should be qualified for the higher offices of Government by some such training as that proposed.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

VILLAGE AUTONOMY.

Any well-digested plan for the restoration of this will meet with cordial sympathy on the part of Europeans. The difficulty will be to reconcile the ancient system with modern civilization.

An experiment is now being made by the Ceylon Government to settle trifling disputes by what are called "Village Councils." The writer has not sufficient knowledge to describe the working of the measure; but it is deserving of investigation as calculated to throw some light on the Indian problem.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The three Presidency cities have always been under Municipal regulations of their own. The oldest Municipalities, in other cases, date only from 1850. Local Boards were commenced in 1871 under Lord Mayo. Self-government was largely developed under Lord Ripon's administration. In 1882-3 there were 761 Municipalities in India, with a population of 14,295,205, and an income of Rs. 30,849,130—an average per head of about Rs. 2-2 (4s. 3d.)

Municipal Commissioners have the useful work of attending to roads, water supply, and other sanitary measures. The support of primary education also devolves upon them.

There is one point to which attention should likewise be directed—the multiplication of liquor shops. In the Madras Presidency,

“Taluk vendors will be at liberty to establish, as a general rule, as many shops as they may consider required for the adequate supply of the locality, subject to the sanction of the Collectors, which will ordinarily be granted in the absence of objections on police grounds.”

The increase of liquor shops is one of the surest ways of promoting drunkenness. Their multiplication made Sweden twenty years ago “probably a more drunken country than Scotland.”*

In reply to a memorial from the Madras Missionary Conference, the admission was made by Government that “the sanction of Collectors (to the opening of liquor shops) has, save in the most exceptional cases, always been granted in the absence of objections on police grounds.”†

The recent Bengal Excise Commission recommended that “Much care should be exercised in the selection of sites for retail shops both in cities and other Municipal towns, and the wishes of Municipal Commissioners on the subject should invariably receive full consideration.”

One of the worst effects of English rule has been the increase of drunkenness. Measures to guard against it should receive watchful attention. Where necessary, representations on the subject should be addressed to the Local, and if need be, to the Supreme Government.

Municipalities have not been an unqualified success in the West. The *Edinburgh Review* says, “Our own popular Municipalities..... have created a debt of 150 millions sterling in the last few years, and by their prodigality they have raised the local rates to the level of imperial taxation.” (July, 1885, p. 298). India has got beyond them. The Municipal taxation per head averages Rs. 2-2-0, against Rs. 2 imperial.

The Madras house taxes amount to 15 per cent on the rental, besides License Taxes from Rs. 500 downwards. The enumeration of the different taxes, with their provisions, occupies 7 octavo pages of small type in the Madras Almanac.

The working of Municipalities in India is much more difficult than at home. Sir George Clerk, in 1860, in a Minute on the Municipal Institutions in the Bombay Presidency, said, “When left to themselves the native members do nothing at all except,

* Committee of Madras Government, appointed 18th March 1884.

† 6th May, 1885, No. 536, Revenue.

perhaps, providing for some of their needy relatives." Cases have been known in which incapable men have thus been appointed, while the influence of the Commissioners has been exerted to shield them from dismissal. *The Englishman* mentions a recent instance of a Native Chairman of a Municipality straining his powers to have a road opened up to his own house across valuable land.

Native papers themselves point out three dangers to which Municipal Commissioners are liable :

One of them is thus mentioned by the *Indian Spectator* :—

"Wanton opposition to the official regime. We have observed this tendency in some of our best Native Commissioners. To these friends we have to remark that the consciousness of having acquired new power must never breed insolence if you wish to have the power rightly exerted and still further extended in future. Power is inseparable from responsibility, and this latter must teach moderation and self-denial to temper the aggressive force of authority." Feb. 18, 1885.

The Liberal notices a second danger :—

"It will be suicidal to ourselves, if we use our power or our influence to assert our own fancied superiority or to provide for our needy relatives and friends at the public expense. How each man can be most useful to the local community without the remotest prospect of the slightest personal gain, direct or indirect, should be the chief, as it is the only honorable form in which the members of local bodies can worthily manifest a spirit of rivalry. Public spirit which looks forward to titles or to lucrative contracts or offices for relations is exactly of the same stamp as that patriotism which Dr. Johnson cynically, because generally, though rightly as regards individual cases, described 'as the last refuge of scoundrels.'" August 17, 1884.

The Indian Spectator cautions against a third abuse :—

"The real danger to be averted is from want of unity amongst natives themselves. So long as Hindus and Muhammadans make it a point of honour to oppose one another on the Municipal Boards, so long will they postpone the realisation of the national object." February 15, 1885.

The same fear was expressed by *The Times* :—"Lest the heterogeneous population of India, in the name of political education, should be permitted to seize upon local administration and gratify its inextinguishable antipathies."

The state of things in the Calcutta Municipality is thus described : "Not even the purely European wards were allowed the privilege of being represented by resident Europeans. In the suburbs the 96,000 Mahomedans were not allowed a single representative." "Nor is this all." Mr. Harrison, Chairman of the Municipality, says of the Bengalis,

"Not content with monopolizing the whole of the elective posts, these Commissioners have formed themselves into a caucus or club to prevent the unrepresented minority having any sort of voice in the municipal administration through the nominated Commissioners."

Calcutta is an extreme case, and there are Municipalities where all the Commissioners work heartily together. Still, it shows the need of watchfulness and caution.

REPRESENTATION IN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

Mr. R. Mudaliyar, the Madras Delegate, said at a public meeting at home, reported in *The Hindu*, December 8th :—

“They had no such thing as a Parliament in India, and absolutely no voice in the government of the country. Taxes were levied and the money spent without their being consulted (‘shame’).”

How far this statement was correct will now be shown.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861, as regards the Governor-General’s Council for making Laws, provided that the strength of its numbers might rise to twenty, of whom eight were to be virtually official and six at least non-official, while the character of the remaining six was to be determined as the Viceroy pleased.

Dr. Hunter, writing in 1880, says,

“The legislative councils of the Imperial and Local Governments have each a Native element in their composition, which although nominated, is fairly chosen so as to represent the various leading classes of the people. Thus of the ten members of the Bengal Council, three are covenanted civilians, one is a crown lawyer, two are non-official Europeans, and four natives. Of the natives the first is the editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, the chief Native paper in India; the second is the head of the Muhammadan community in Calcutta; the other two represent the landed and important rural interests.”

The Native non-official members were at first selected from the men whose position and wealth seemed to give them the best claim. They were naturally too conservative for young reformers, and considerable dissatisfaction was expressed. Latterly, popular opinion has been more consulted, and the selections have been generally approved.

Sir James Fergusson, late Governor of Bombay, was held up by a clique as hostile to the welfare of the people of India, and therefore unworthy of election as a member of Parliament. *The Hindu*, however, is obliged to make the following acknowledgment :—

“The Governor of Bombay has an exceptionally able council to advise him on matters of legislation. Messrs. Mehta, Telang, Tayabjee, Naoroji and Ranade are among the ablest and the best informed Indian gentlemen. Their general attainments are as high as their knowledge of their country is extensive and accurate. It is much to the credit of Sir James Fergusson that he initiated this new departure in the principle of making nominations to the Legislative Council.” *Dec. 26, 1885.*

The Hindu, as usual, praises in one quarter to depreciate in another. Bombay is exalted to lower Madras. But the Madras

non-official members are equally well selected. The Muhammadan member is an excellent representative of his co-religionists; the European member is Vice Chairman of the Madras Chamber of Commerce. The Maharaja of Vizianagram is the largest and most public-spirited landholder in the Presidency. The other two Native members are probably as good exponents of "Young India" as could be chosen.

Exclusive of the Governor, the Madras Legislative Council has seven official and four non-official members.

The Imperial Legislature has four Native members, and three non-official Europeans.

A "National Congress" was held at Bombay on the 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1885. *The Hindu* gives the names of 69 members. Lawyers seem to have numbered 37, Editors 9, Municipal Commissioners 7, Merchants 4, Landholders 3, Teachers 3, Doctors 2, Miscellaneous or undefined 4. Some members were both lawyers and municipal officers; but they are classed according to their professions.

The Madras Presidency sent 21 members; Bombay 17; Poona 9; Surat 6; Calcutta 3; Ahmedabad, Karachi, Agra, Lucknow, and Lahore 2 each; Viramgam, Benares, and Allahabad 1 each.

The Bombay Gazette says, "The spectacle which presented itself of men representing the various races and communities, castes and sub-divisions of castes, religions and sub-divisions of religions, met together in one place to form themselves, if possible into one political whole, was most unique and interesting."

The following Resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That this Congress desires to record its opinion in favour of the expansion of the Supreme Legislative Council and the Legislative Councils for the Provinces when they already exist, as well as in the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members—the necessary reference to such Councils of all the financial questions and the extension to their members of the right to interpellate the executive in regard to all branches of the administration; also the constitution in England of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons to consider any representations sent up by over-ruled members of such Councils against the action of the executive."

The Resolution only says that a "considerable proportion" of the members should be elected. Mr. Cotton thinks it

"Reasonable that the Government should still be allowed to nominate a proportion—say one-third—of the members of the Council. If the number of the members of a Legislative Council were fixed at thirty, there would then be twenty members left to be chosen by the people from among themselves."*

* *New India*, pp. 85, 86.

Apart, however, from defining the exact number of members, it must be confessed that a good many sweeping changes are proposed in a single Resolution. The driving of "Young India" is "like the driving of Jehu, the son of Nimshi, for he driveth furiously." His best friends recommend him to moderate his pace.

Some years ago the late Hon. J. B. Norton reminded "Young Madras" that "events do not succeed each other in the history of a nation with the same rapidity as they crowd into the life of an individual." Not long ago this was re-iterated in the same city by Dr. Miller, C. I. E. :—

"The seed of English freedom had not been planted but yesterday ; it had grown through the storm of ages and had required centuries to develop it. It was the oak which grows slowly that was able to battle with the storms of a thousand years, and it was the gourd which grew up in a night that died in a night also. He wished that the political and social development of the people of this country would be like that of the oak."

Principal Wordsworth at the opening of the Fergusson College last year at Poona said :—

"It was impossible to disguise from themselves that the educated classes were by the light which they received separated to a very great extent in feeling and ideas from the people of the country which gave them birth and were...exposed to the temptation of indulging in a critical and revolutionary spirit. If they looked at the history of those European countries which had passed out of the stage of spiritual and temporal despotism, into something like comparative freedom, they would see the great injury and great misfortune which resulted from the levity, the ignorance, the want of political experience of the classes which had received illumination, light and knowledge. And although he admitted that there were excuses which might be put forward by the people in some parts of the country, he would be wanting in candour if he failed to say that amongst a portion of the native public of India, especially in Bengal, making an allowance for whatever provocation they had received, they had an illustration that where an adherence to exaggerated ideas and pretensions, such as he had alluded to, get possession of men's minds, it was fraught with great danger to society."

Sir Henry Maine's recent volume on Popular Government notices the harm done by "rapidly framing and confidently uttering general propositions on political subjects." "This habit of mind threatens little short of ruin to the awakening intellect of India, where political abstractions, founded exclusively upon English facts, are applied by the educated minority and by their newspapers, to a society which through nine-tenths of its structure belongs to the thirteenth century of the West."

The *Pioneer*, after quoting the above says :—

"Undoubtedly the tendency of our Native politicians, whose aims and wishes are sensible enough in themselves, is to be in too great a hurry to

swallow formulas undigested, to exaggerate the defects and shortcomings of the existing political system, and entirely to underestimate, through their inexperience, the immense difficulty and risk of any rapid and radical changes."

Tennyson refers to England as :—

" A land of settled government
A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent."

Thus should it be in India.

Some of "Young India's" warmest friends advise him for the present to endeavour to make Lord Ripon's measures a success before undertaking fresh political responsibilities. Such advice, however, does not suit fiery reformers.

A few remarks may be offered with regard to proposed changes in the Legislative Councils.

Imperial Legislature.—This has the determination of questions of finance and legislation connected with the whole country. It had better remain as it is for the present.

The following suggestions refer only to the Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

Number of Members.—The British House of Commons has not proved itself, in the capacity of a legislative machine, as the "perfection of human wisdom." Good acts are best drawn up by a few competent men. It is well, however, that they should have a wide expression of opinion before them. Draft bills might be officially sent for criticism to the Chambers of Commerce, to such bodies as the British Indian Association, and to the principal Municipalities.

The press is also becoming more and more an exponent of "Native Public Opinion."

Exclusive of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, each Council might consist of 16 members—eight official and eight non-official. The suggestion of Mr. Cotton with regard to the number is strongly condemned. It would be very liable to lead to a repetition of the scenes in the Calcutta Municipality:

Mr. Justice Cunningham says, "The additional members of council are necessarily in almost every instance officials or commercial gentlemen without the special knowledge and training necessary to enable them to render really useful aid in the technical details of legislation." He suggests therefore the re-introduction of the judicial element. Either the Chief Justice or the Native High Court Judge might be appointed as an additional official member.

Selection of non-official Members.—The leaders of "Native Public Opinion" have not shown political sagacity in singling out Sir

Richard Temple and Sir James Fergusson as the enemies of the Indian people, while Messrs. Blunt and Keay are to be regarded as their friends. *The Interpreter* justly says :—

“It saddens the hearts of men who are outside the regions of these quarrels when they reflect that every question of right and wrong should be decided from the exclusive standpoint of class interest. For instance, a particular official is retiring from the country. His public life will be valued, not from the general tenor of his character and administration, but whether he voted for or against the Ilbert Bill.” *Dec.* 1885.

The Hindus are accustomed to caste combinations, and can easily adopt the American “caucus” system. A recent work, *Kings without Crowns*, describing the American Presidents, says :—

“If there were a large class of cultured men, with leisure and wealth enough to allow them to devote themselves to political management, the caucus might not be a disadvantageous institution; but as, in fact, the strings of party are largely drawn by men who have neither character nor ability enough to make their mark in any other profession, it is in most cases an evil.” p. 127.

Still, on the whole, it seems best to concede the right of election in India.

Of the proposed eight unofficial members, two might be selected by Government from the most important and intelligent Zemindars, to represent the landed interests. Eventually they could be chosen by the Zemindars themselves.

The other six members might be elected by the following bodies:—

1. The Presidency Municipality.
2. The Presidency Chamber of Commerce.
3. The University Graduates.
4. The Muhammadan Association.
5. The Members of Municipalities and Local Boards, North.*
6. The Members of Municipalities and Local Boards, South.*

Finance, &c.—The Imperial Legislature, which contains four Native Members, has some control over the general finance. The budget is annually placed before the Ceylon Legislative Council. This might be conceded to the Indian Provincial Councils. The statesmanship of some of the elected members may consist of “petty economies,” or they may wish to pose as “tribunes of the people.” But, on the whole, the advantages predominate. So with “Interpellation.” As in Parliament, Government may decline to answer any question when publicity is inexpedient.

Native Papers, instead of indulging in vague declamation about “useless offices with extravagant salaries,” should specify them, and show their worthlessness.

* In Bengal, East and West.

Time and Place of Meeting.—Legislation should not be spread over the year. The Session might be during the four months of the cold season, when the seat of Government is at the capital. Drafts of proposed bills might be circulated at the close of each session, and during the recess of eight months there would be time for criticising them. If meetings are necessary at other seasons, the official members should come to the capital. Legislative duties, under any circumstances, are a heavy tax upon the time of unofficial members, and to ask them to go to some sanitarium, hundreds of miles distant, is unfair.

Term of Service.—The Madras memorialists suggest that members should hold their seats for a period of two years as at present, and be eligible for re-election. Members of parliament are elected for seven years, although the actual average is shorter. Frequent elections are undesirable. Members would gain more experience and be more independent if the term in India were extended to five years.

Legislative Councils for the North West Provinces & the Punjab.—From the progress education is making in these Provinces, at no distant period Councils may be established in them with advantage.

THE SPIRIT IN WHICH REFORM IS TO BE SOUGHT.

Many educated Hindus think that the "bureaucracy" watch with envious eyes gatherings like that which lately took place at Bombay. While such may be the feelings of some, its most distinguished members view them with pleasure, and only wish that they may be wisely directed. They are what was aimed at from the commencement.

Sir Richard Temple says :—

"While developing her own national life, England will find that the educated sections of Native Society are moved by aspirations for self-government and for political representation. Such ideas have been vaguely and tentatively promulgated in former times, but have never before been so fully defined, nor so openly declared, as they are at present.

"Thoughtful Englishmen may remember that self-government among the Natives is one of the goals to which many of the administrative arrangements of India are tending."

Dr. Hunter remarks :—

"I do not believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of their country. I do not believe that races, among whom we raise a taxation of 35 millions sterling, and into whom we have instilled the maxim of, 'No taxation

without representation,' as a fundamental right of a people, can be permanently excluded from a share in the management of their finances." p. 135.

At Delhi, Lord Dufferin said to the Municipal Commissioners :—

"Without giving any pledge on the subject as to times and seasons, I can assure them that no one will be more personally gratified than myself at the arrival of the day when a still fuller measure of independence may be granted them."

Lord R. Churchill's notions of Indian ethnology are rather hazy, but it is his hope that the millions of India will be welded "in process of time into one great united people."

A few remarks may now be offered on the spirit which will be most successful in securing what is sought.

1. *Reform is not to be gained by disloyalty.*—There is an "Underground India" as well as "Underground Russia," though happily on a much smaller scale. Cities might be named in which cliques meet and talk sedition, which also finds vent at times in the native press. *The Hindu* says, "If by some indiscretion on our part the cry that the educated natives are hostile to the supremacy of the British nation catches the English public, then the bubble will burst, and we will open our eyes to exclaim what a dream we have been dreaming." (Feb. 11th 1885). It would be suicidal policy on the part of any Government to give power to men who were at heart traitors to it.

2. *Reform is not to be promoted by exciting Race Hatred.*—No good is done by asserting that "the English are the most avaricious and selfish people in the world;" that English merchants are "perfect masters of envy, intrigue and malice;" that the "bureaucracy" create "useless offices with the most extravagant scale of salaries to provide for themselves and their relations;" that "like an immense vampire they have sat brooding over India and draining her almost to her heart's blood during the last century and more."*

3. *"Moderation is better than exaggeration."*—These words form part of the wise counsel to the delegates by the Hon. B. Tyabjee. The *Dnyanodaya* a Bombay, journal, edited by an American Missionary, gives the same advice :

"To have power, a Reformer should manifest a love of truth by exactness and accuracy in his statements and representations. Exaggerations have never been helpful in reform; they have retarded, but have

* References have been given to the above quotations. The *Madras Mail* gives the following from the *Som Prakash*, the leading Bangali newspaper : The English of to-day "are the bitter enemies of the natives. Their rage and pride know no bounds. They are Neros in oppression and Chandals (the lowest outcastes) in custom." Dec. 13, 1885.

never advanced a cause. Exaggerations give room for an enemy to oppose with effect. Exact unexaggerated truth is the best weapon for reform, for the very reason that it is nothing but the truth.

"Obtain exact statistics and information. Keep that information before the people. Prevent stagnation of thought. Welcome every sign of progress however small."

4. "*Persuasion is better than declamation or abuse.*" This is also quoted from the Hon. B. Tyabjee. The commentary of the *Dnyanodaya* may be given in this case likewise :—

"Criticism of government method is the right and prerogative of the subject, but criticism has greater weight when accompanied with appreciation of the underlying motive of Government, and does not confound accidental irregularities and mistakes, with the true purpose of the ruling Power....The surest and quickest way for India to obtain redress of wrongs and greater privileges, is to appreciate in English rule what is worthy of appreciation, and criticise from the position of a friend and not from the position of an enemy."

QUARTERS FROM WHICH REFORM MAY BE EXPECTED.

Some of these may be noticed.

The House of Commons.—One proposal of the Bombay Congress was,

"The constitution in England of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons to consider any representations sent up by overruled members of such Councils against the action of the Executive."

It is not surprising that even Mr. Chamberlain gave no pledge to support such a scheme.

Little is to be gained by an appeal to the House of Commons itself. Years ago Macaulay said that an inquiry into a row at Covent Garden would excite far more attention among its members than the most important question connected with India. Though the Government has now passed directly into the hands of the Crown, these supposed custodians of India's interests are, as a rule, still conspicuous by their absence when her affairs are discussed. Even although they were present, it must be confessed that it would not much avail. Macaulay, referring to the trial of Warren Hastings by the Peers, says, "They are all politicians. There is hardly one among them whose vote on an impeachment may not be confidently predicted before a witness has been examined." Much more does this apply to the House of Commons. Mr. Harrison says, "In practice nine out of ten parliamentary speakers do not mean to convince, and nine out of ten of parliamentary voters do not mean to be convinced, and are incapable of being convinced, and mean to vote, convinced or not."*

* *Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1881.

As already mentioned, there never perhaps was a time when Indian appeals would meet with less attention from Parliament. There are vital questions connected with the Home Islands which will absorb all parties.

The aim ought rather to be to make India self-governing. If the advocates of any reform in England are defeated, they simply try to make out their case more clearly, and to influence public opinion on the subject. So should it be in India.

A Royal Commission.—The first Resolution of the Bombay Congress was the following :—

“That this Congress earnestly recommends a Royal Commission to be appointed to inquire into the working of the Indian administration here and in England, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and all available evidence taken in India and in England.”

Some years ago *Punch* was represented, in a cartoon, as seated in his editorial chair “interpellating” Lord John Russell, his question being, “What is your opinion of things in general?” “The working of the Indian administration here and in England,” is a subject nearly as extensive. To do it thoroughly would occupy years, and require several Commissions. It is doubtful whether Government would appoint a Commission for an inquiry so vague. It seems desirable therefore to specify points on which investigation is needed. Two are suggested in the foregoing pages—the India Council and the Civil Service. Whether any Royal Commission will be appointed will depend chiefly upon the view taken by the Government of India.

Little reliance can be placed upon the casual remark of Lord R. Churchill to propose a Parliamentary Inquiry. In any case a Royal Commission is preferable.

Lord Dufferin has promised a Financial Commission. A Mixed Commission has been suggested to examine into the Land Revenue systems of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies.

Lord Dufferin.—Indian reformers will find in this nobleman their best friend and wisest counsellor. He belongs to the same political school as Lord Ripon, although perhaps he would put less steam on “the rushing and screaming locomotive that typifies progress.”

Already Lord Dufferin has been largely instrumental in saving India and England from the terrible calamity of a war with Russia. It has been staved off for the present, and the measures taken may help to avert it in the future. For this alone India owes him a debt of gratitude. The past year was one of severe mental pressure.

It may be well to give some explanation of Lord Dufferin’s policy with regard to Upper Burma, which has been severely criticised by the Native Press.

It is alleged that Government ought not to have interfered, although the Bombay Trading Company was unjustly treated.

Perhaps the greatest service which the Romans rendered to the world was by their *Law*, which forms the basis of most modern legislation. Two thousand years ago it acknowledged the principle that a state was bound to protect its subjects from *injustice* wherever they might be. This limitation must be kept in view. It did not shield a criminal from due punishment. With this exception, a Roman anywhere could say *Civis Romanus sum*, "I am a Roman citizen," and demand his rights. This principle is recognised by all the civilized nations of Europe, and it applies to this country. Any native of India, a British subject, may claim the protection of Government, wherever he is, against injustice. The King of Burma was at perfect liberty to forbid the Bombay Trading Company from coming into his dominions, but having voluntarily entered into engagements with it, he had no right to ask an advance of 22 lakhs, and then impose a fine of 23 lakhs on a false charge because it was not granted. When the British Government remonstrated, a contemptuous reply was given, refusing to recognise its right to defend its subjects from gross oppression, and declining to withdraw the claim.

But the great cause of the war with Burma was the treaty which the King had made with France. It would be most injurious to India for the French to have a Protectorate over Upper Burma. Their ships of war would require to sail up the Irawadi through British territory. The approach of Russia on the West has entailed an additional expenditure of two crores a year; it would require as much more to protect the Eastern frontier, if France got a footing in Upper Burma.

The ultimatum sent to Theebaw was that he should receive a British Resident, and that England should have the control of foreign affairs. This was rejected, and Theebaw issued a proclamation that he would himself, at the head of his army, march against the *Kullahs* (barbarians) and annex their country. One of his generals on leaving Mandalay promised to bring back the heads of General Prendergast and Colonel Sladen in a fortnight. The very different result is well-known.

The course has been followed which was best for the interests both of India and the people of Upper Burma.

Lord Dufferin has had wide political experience. The position of Canada, of which he was Governor-General for several years, is the goal to which Indian reformers should tend, though years must elapse before it is fully reached.

Most will be gained by a temperate Memorial to Lord Dufferin on extending the electoral principle to the Legislative Councils as

far as it can be done with safety at present. But it is not to be expected that he will draft a new constitution as quickly as an Abbe Sieyes. He will wish to gain a better knowledge of India, and to watch the working of the changes introduced by Lord Ripon. Reformers may, however, be certain that if such a measure is not introduced before he lays down the reins of Government, it is because he thought the time for it had not yet come.

Even in that case, after his retirement, should God spare his life, he will take a warm interest in India, and he may aid one of his successors in carrying out a measure the honour of which he would have coveted for himself, had it been compatible with the true interests of India at the time. So far as the Government is concerned, the advice which "Young India" most needs is that which Count Cavour gave to some ardent Italian patriots, "*Have Patience!*"

The Enlightenment of the People.—An American writer says,

"The form of government must naturally vary according to the intelligence and virtue of the people. If, then, any citizens would influence the government, if they would render it more mild and liberal, they must seek to enlighten and reform the great body of the people. The state, adapting its government to the qualifications of the people, will be constrained to give them liberty according as they are prepared to receive it."

Here, instead of Cavour's maxim, the watchword should be "full speed ahead!" Carlyle, with grim humour, recommends every reformer to begin with himself, and then he will be sure that there is one rascal less in the world. Let the reader endeavour to gain as much correct knowledge as he can, and then let him seek to diffuse it among his countrymen.

SOCIAL AND MORAL REFORM.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

The women of India have some excellent qualities; but from their present state of ignorance, they are one of the greatest obstacles to reform in every respect. The late Professor Chuckerbutty, in the first Introductory Lecture ever delivered at the Calcutta Medical College by a Native, said of the elevation of the women of India,

"Of all the great social problems to be solved in this country, this is undoubtedly the greatest. It is useless to hide from ourselves the fact that the degraded condition of the women of India is the foundation of numerous social evils."

The injurious influences of ignorant mothers are not confined to their children. Even educated husbands are held in subjection by

them. A native newspaper has the following remarks on this subject :—

"The educated native is nowhere so miserable and crest-fallen as in his home, and by none is he so much embarrassed as by his female relations. His private life may be said to be at antipodes with his public career. A Demosthenes at Debating Societies, whose words tell as peals of thunder, a Luther in his public protestations against prevailing corruptions, a thorough-going Cockney in ideas and tastes, he is but a timid crouching Hindu in his home, yielding unquestioning submission to the requisitions of a superstitious family."...Between husband and wife, "there can be no rational conversation, no hearty exchange of thoughts and sympathies, no co-operation in really useful undertakings, and even no companionship beyond the pale of the Zenana. The only way of patching up a temporary and nominal reconciliation is for the husband to forget his scholarship, and lay down his crotchets of reform, and assume the attitude of complete orthodoxy and foolish ignorance. Surely an educated husband and an illiterate wife cannot possibly agree, and so long as the latter governs the household according to her orthodox prejudices, the nation cannot make any real advancement."

Some of the means to be employed to raise the condition of women will be briefly noticed.

Female Education.—This should be promoted by intelligent men to the utmost of their power. It is to be expected that the strongest opposition will arise from ignorant old women. Full of superstitious prejudices, blindly guided by custom, untaught themselves, they cannot see the advantages of female education. But man—not woman—is constituted head of the family. It would be despicable for educated men to yield to such resistance.

In some cases, however, the indifference of the male members of the family is the obstacle. A woman has said, "What is the use of my learning to read or to write? I am only laughed at. My husband does not encourage me. No one seems to approve." Let there be no ground for such objections.

Day schools are best for the young. At home there are many interruptions, and from the small number taught, there is not the sympathy and intellectual life awakened by contact with others. Some of the most influential Hindus in Bombay send their own daughters to school. In parts of the country where the higher classes are not yet sufficiently enlightened to permit this, children should be taught at home.

The system of early marriages is a great drawback to female education. In some cases, however, it may be turned to good account. The husband may insist upon his wife's education. A young man in Bombay brought his child-wife to school, saying that he wished her to learn all she could.

It is not an easy task for a grown-up woman to acquire the art of reading. She has many temptations to overcome. Her husband

should give her every encouragement. He should be willing to teach her himself.

The advantages of female education, is one of the most common subjects for essays in India. But *deeds* are wanted, not mere *words*. Livingstone says, "It is not by grand meetings, fine speeches, and much excitement that anything great is done. No, it is by hard work, working in quiet, working under a sense of God's presence everywhere."

Every educated husband should teach his wife to read if she has not already that ability, and he should take care that his daughters are properly taught. Mr. Chentsal Rao said at Madras :—

"Primarily I hold our educated natives responsible for the ignorance of our women. How many families are there not in which the men are highly educated and the women left ignorant even of the alphabet!"

"Native Public Opinion" is happily farther advanced on the subject of female education than it is with regard to widow marriage. All may therefore unite in pushing it. It will also be one of the best means of promoting the latter. Educated women will claim "woman's rights."

Education Needed.—The Hon. T. Muthusami Iyer, of Madras, justly remarked,

"The curriculum which is designed for girls should not be framed too much on the pattern of the curriculum prescribed for boys. It should be specially adapted to the wants of women in life. It is not enough that they learn to read and write and keep accounts, but it is also necessary that they should be enabled to lay in a stock of knowledge which will be of service to them in managing the house, in nursing relations through illness, in bringing up and training children, in enforcing attention to cleanliness and to the laws of health, in rendering the home neat and tidy, and in imparting to the home life a tone of cheerful contentment, and in sustaining and raising that energy of female character which creates a lovely and happy home out of bare competence, and in acquitting themselves well and honorably as wives, daughters and mothers, amidst all the vicissitudes of life."

Different standards and different text books are recommended for girls. Both have been greatly neglected. Hundreds of English and American ladies have been engaged in female education during the last half century or more, but, so far as known to the writer, their total contribution to *school literature specially for women and girls** consists of a "Zenana Reader," prepared eight years ago by A. L. O. E. at his request. A good series of books of this description is one of the greatest educational wants of India. The secular "Readers" for boys which are sometimes used even in Zenana

* Some of them have translated or written religious books. *School Books specially for girls' schools* are meant.

teaching, are most unsuitable for female education. Here, above all, religious teaching is desirable.

For the great majority of women, a purely Vernacular education is all that is necessary. For the higher classes, English, on several accounts, is greatly to be preferred to Sanskrit.

Early Marriage and Widow Re-marriage.—These reforms are in excellent Native hands. Under this head the writer need only say to them, "Keep pegging away."

Extravagant Expenditure at Marriages.—This will be noticed under "Self-created Causes of Indian Poverty."

Women in Society.—There is a very great difference between the position in society of European and Hindu ladies. The former mix freely with their friends, and often attend public meetings. The latter, in most parts of India, are kept closely secluded,—even near male relations not being permitted to see their faces.

In ancient times in India, the customs with regard to women more resembled those in Europe. The *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* contain many allusions to women appearing in public. In the *Raghuvansa*, a king, Dilipa, travels with his queen, Sudakshina, in an open carriage, both of them asking questions of the people they met about road-side plants. In the *Mahavira Charita* princes and princesses, entire strangers to each other, are openly introduced in the same company.

The conquest of India by the Muhammadans tended powerfully to degrade the position of women. The Koran permits polygamy and divorce. Marriage can be dissolved at any time at the simple will and fancy of the husband. A traveller met an Arab, not an old man, who had been married fifty times. According to Muhammadan law, a man can look upon any married woman (near relatives excepted) as within his reach by marriage, the present husband consenting. Every married woman can become the lawful wife of any man she may captivate, if she can persuade her husband to pronounce a divorce. Muhammadans are, therefore, compelled to keep their wives closely confined, or the foundations of society would be broken up.

The Mussulman rulers of India took into their zenanas beautiful Hindu women, even although married. To avoid such outrages, women were kept within doors or carefully veiled. In course of time the Hindus, in the seclusion of women, acted like Muhammadans.

Women in this country should again be allowed the liberty they had in ancient times.

As in the case of female education, some of the strongest opponents of the change will be the women themselves. Like

prisoners immured all their lives, they have no idea of the sweets of liberty. But intelligent Hindu ladies will gladly avail themselves of the privilege.

The objection may be raised that, considering the state of morals in India, the introduction of women into society would lead to great evil. The idea is entertained by many that society must be reformed before such a course can be taken with safety. It is granted that the prevailing moral tone requires to be elevated; but female influence is one of the most powerful agencies which can be employed for this purpose. This has been abundantly shown by experience. The presence of women at social gatherings puts a stop to coarse jests and all improper behaviour. When fathers and mothers bring their families together, they dare not give way to anything indecent.

It is not proposed to copy European example in all respects. English ladies often squander large sums of money on dress, the fashion of which is constantly changing. The Indian costume is much more graceful and becoming. Native balls, with dancing, are by no means recommended.

Nor are sudden great changes advocated. The first step is to have more intercourse between members of the same family. Father and mother, brothers and sisters, should mix with each other, instead of living apart as they often do at present. Taking meals together is a matter of great importance.

Next, let relatives, male and female, visit each other. Instead of calling separately, or the men talking with men and the women going into the female apartments, let all meet together and converse. The same course should be followed at entertainments. Friends, who are not relatives, may gradually be treated in a similar manner. Ladies should not, however, be introduced to persons who are immoral. The company of such should be shunned by all.

Hindu women ought to be taken to museums and other sights, which will expand their minds and give them fresh ideas.

The great objection will be, "What will people say?" To this *The Indian Reformer* replies:—

"They may say anything they choose; they may point the finger of ridicule towards you; they may crack many a merry joke at your expense;—but all that, to use the language of a Bengali proverb, will not raise a blister on your body. When a person is honestly convinced of the utility of a social innovation, let him dare practise it himself; and, if he be not an absolute cipher in society, he is sure to be followed by others. No man has yet become a reformer, whether social, moral, political or religious, without moral courage."

The reader, if married, can, at all events, begin with his own wife. Let him eat with her, instead of being waited upon by her like a servant.

Tennyson says,

"The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink
Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free."

In seeking the elevation of the women of India, men are also taking one of the best means to raise themselves.

CASTE.

It is a good sign of the times that the defence of this system is now left to European Positivists, with a "screw loose" somewhere. The *Indian Messenger*, referring to Mr. Cotton's recent attempt of this kind says, "We who were born to it, and have lived in it, and can now mark all its evil consequences, think otherwise."

The English word *caste* comes from the Portuguese word *casta*, a race. The true Sanskrit name for caste is *varna*, colour. The Aryan invaders of India were white compared with the Aborigines, whom they called a "black-sprung host." In Vedic times there were but two castes—the fair and dark races. By degrees, the present system was developed.

Caste distinctions, in course of time, were endlessly multiplied. The Brahmans now form ten tribes, with no fewer than 1,886 subdivisions. Many of these subdivisions will no more eat, drink, and intermarry with one another than they will with the other castes. The Kshatriyas reckon 590 separate tribes. Different employments led to new classes among the Vaisyas and Sudras. Men having the same occupation imposed certain rules, and put out of caste any by whom they were broken. Even the Pariahs have numerous subdivisions, and are as tenacious of their caste as the highest Brahmans. Some of the fiercest caste disputes take place between those near the bottom of the scale.

"Caste surrounds the Indian from the day of his birth to that of his death, and is thus indissolubly bound up with his social life; it is as much a necessity to him as the food he eats, the raiment he wears, or the house he lives in. Indeed, as Mr. Sherring remarks, 'he can dispense with raiment, and during most of the year prefers the court outside his house to the hot rooms within; but he can never free himself from caste, can never escape from its influence. By day and by night, at home or abroad, in waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, in all the customs of the society in which he moves, and in the events governing his entire life, he is always under its pervading and overmastering influence. Hindus are tied hand and foot and are willing slaves of the most intolerant and exacting taskmaster that ever placed a yoke on the neck of man.' " The *Indian Nation*, a Native paper, in noticing Mr. Cotton's apology for caste says, "No code of jail discipline could be more comprehensive or severe than the Hindu religion on its practical side."

Caste carries out its own childish rules and laws with Draconian severity, while it disregards the greatest crimes. A man may be guilty of dakoity and murder ; this does not affect his caste ; but let him take a glass of water from a European, and it is immediately destroyed. "Other religions," it has been remarked, "may be seated in the mind and soul,—but the stronghold of Hinduism is the stomach." The most important distinctions between right and wrong are obliterated by caste.

Max. Müller says,

"There is no authority whatever in the hymns of the Veda for the complicated system of castes. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together, from eating and drinking together ; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes ; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. There is no law to sanction the blasphemous pretensions of a priesthood to divine honours, or the degradation of any human being to a state below the animal."

Shakespeare says, "Hath not a Jew eyes ? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions ?" Similar sentiments are found in the Mahabharata : "Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, apprehension, hunger, fatigue, prevail over all ; by what, then, is caste discriminated ?"

Another passage in the Mahabharata is thus rendered :—

"Small souls inquire 'Belongs this man
To our own race, or class, or clan ?'
But larger-hearted men embrace
As brothers all the human race."

There is a growing desire to be freed from this bondage. A writer in the *Indu Prakash* says,

"The tyranny of caste extends from the most trifling to the most important affairs of Hindu life. It cripples the independent action of individuals ; sows the seed of bitter discord between the different sections of society ; encourages the most abominable practices ; and dries up the springs of that social, moral, and intellectual freedom, which alone can secure greatness, whether to individuals or nations.

"O God, have mercy on our fallen countrymen ! Give them true knowledge of Thy Fatherhood and their brotherhood, that our countless millions may be bound by one social tie ; and, joining hand with hand and heart with heart, move onward in the path of freedom and righteousness, knowledge and glory, and national regeneration."

One of the greatest obstacles to the overthrow of caste is that, as a rule, the most enlightened leaders of native society, however much they may disapprove of its absurd and unjust rules, meekly bend their necks to its yoke. Did they act with firmness, it would soon become a thing of the past.

Educated Hindus "acutely feel and justly resent any assumption of superiority grounded on pride of race, when exhibited by unmannerly Europeans." The remark has been made that "no Englishman treats the natives of this country with the contempt, and insolence which high-caste Hindus habitually display towards their low caste brethren."

Christianity especially teaches the "Fatherhood of God" and the "Brotherhood of Man." "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Southey says,

"Children we are all
Of one Great Father, in whatever clime
His providence hath cast the seed of life;
All tongues, all colours."

ASTROLOGY AND OMENS.

The bondage in which the Hindus are kept by belief in astrology and omens is second only to that of caste. It is the occasion of never-ending expenses and the fruitful source of unceasing anxieties to all classes.

"Nothing," says *The Harvest Field*, "of any importance in any position or relation of life is done without the permission of the astrologer. When a woman becomes pregnant, the astrologer is sent for to say, whether it will be a male or a female child; when it will be born; whether it will live or die; and what sort of child it will be. And he, with all the assurance of a true prophet, describes these things in detail, and a certain class even write the horoscope before the child is born. When a child is born, the presence of the astrologer is again necessary, to find out the birth star, to write the horoscope, to describe his character, to foretell the events in his life, and to fix the period of its duration. When a man wishes to have his son or daughter married, the astrologer is the only true counsellor and guide. He must examine the nativities; decide the proper conjunctions of the 27 principal stars of the constellations of the Zodiac necessary to produce a happy union; fix the fortunate days for the great ceremony; and arrange all the details of the marriage. Does a merchant wish to speculate in a quantity of goods? Is a man about to undertake a journey? Does a rich man desire to dig a well or build a tank for merit? The astrologer must fix the lucky day and hour. The proper days for celebrating feasts, the auspicious days for shaving the head, the best time for putting on the sacred thread, and a thousand other important events and periods are all fixed by the astrologer."

Sir Madava Rao thus shows the evil effects of astrology in the case of marriages:—

"The difficulties attendant upon the choice of suitable husbands for the girls of a Hindu family are generally many and great, and I am bound to say that these difficulties are enormously aggravated by Hindu *Astrology*.

The anxious parents and relatives of a girl, after much inquiry and research, make a choice, good in many respects,—in respect of age, health, appearance, education and circumstances.

The horoscopes of the boy and girl are placed in the hands of the astrologer, and he is asked for his opinion as to the proposed match.

After much inspection, study and calculation—or rather the appearance of the same—the astrologer perhaps says,

(1) The two horoscopes are not in accord ; as they ought to be.

(2) The horoscope of the boy shows that he will be short-lived ; and this means that the girl married to him will before long become a widow !

(3) The horoscope of the boy shows that he is destined to lose his first wife and to marry a second ; and this means that the girl married to him will die ere long !

(4) The horoscope of the girl shows that she will not have a father-in-law or mother-in-law ; and this means that, not long after marriage, the parents of the boy will die !

Such predictions cause alarm to the parents of the girl and also to the parents of the boy ; and the proposed alliance is abandoned.

The parents of the girl begin again their inquiries and researches for a husband for her. It having become known that her horoscope has been declared objectionable in the way above stated, nobody will accept her in marriage.

Similarly the parents of the boy renew their inquiries and researches for a wife for him. It having become known that his horoscope has been declared objectionable in the way above stated, nobody is willing to offer him a girl in marriage.

Such embarrassments, and the unhappiness thereby caused, afflict Hindu society in many and various forms.

It is lamentable what a deal of mischief the astrologer does.

The astrologer may be a real believer in the science which he professes to know. The mischief he does is not the less on that account.

He may be utterly ignorant of that science. The mischief is all the same.

It is consolatory to think that very often he is a downright humbug, who desires to extort money from either side. In this case it is a consolation that the fellow might be bribed to refrain from mischief !

But the fact of his being open to bribery soon becomes known, and he is rejected as a referee in favour of the more honest and, therefore, the less tractable mischief-maker !

The fact is, the root of the evil lies in the general or prevailing belief in astrology—the belief prevailing among men, and especially among women, who take a large part in arranging marriages.

Show this belief to be quite unfounded, and you will apply the axe to the root of the evil.

Here then is a large and virgin field presented for the labours of social reformers.

I feel it a duty to avail myself of this opportunity to declare my own profound conviction that Hindu astrology, as is now employed in connection with proposed marriages, is utterly false and purely mischievous.

I trust that the educated portion of my countrymen will accept this conviction to some extent at least. If they are not prepared to do so, I would entreat them to at least make the necessary inquiries in view to ascertain the truth. The necessary inquiries may be made by individuals or by associations. Some of the many existing associations might well divert a portion of their time and attention from barren politics to such social reforms as the one under advertence.

If educated natives are unable to discover new physical truths and extend the boundaries of science, ought they not to do the important service of at least discovering and exposing the falsehoods and shams which infest native social life and curtail or destroy human happiness?"

A gentleman in Mysore gives the following illustrations of which he had personal knowledge. A rich Brahman in the Fort wanted a wife for one of his sons ; but he had to write letters without end ; and to search for *five* years in about a *hundred* families before he could find a girl whose natal star would fulfil the required conditions. Another respectable man in Mysore had three daughters. For one daughter he searched for a husband about two years in 22 families ; for the next he made inquiries three years ; and for the last one he has been writing, looking and seeking in vain for the last four years. A Brahman, 32 years of age, wandered about for more than two years with Rs. 500 in his hand looking for a wife ; and he has now only succeeded in obtaining a girl of four years old by giving a dowry of Rs. 700.*

Omens are another kind of fortune-telling as foolish and false as astrology.

Some are taken from birds. Crows are favourite prophets.

The lizard also bears a high reputation. An Indian treatise on divination says that if a lizard fall on the head, it prognosticates death ; if on the right ear, good ; on the left ear, evil ; on the nose, disease ; on the neck, joy, &c. Its chirp is also a certain sign. There is, however, a Tamil proverb, "The lizard which was the oracle of the whole village has fallen into the broth pot."

The ass likewise appropriately holds a place. If an ass bray in the east, success will be delayed ; in the south-east, it forebodes death ; in the south, it denotes gain of money ; in the south-west, good news ; in the west, disturbance, &c.

Sneezing, the howling of dogs, &c., are considered to forebode evil tidings.

Another false kind of fortune-telling is by looking at the hand.

Even after marriages have been arranged with great trouble, they are sometimes broken off on account of supposed bad omens. The parents on starting upon a marriage expedition carefully watch the omens for about half a mile, as if they were infallible indi-

* *The Harvest Field.*

cations of the future. If the omens are bad, they return ; and if they are bad a second and third time, the match is entirely abandoned as one that would be ruinous.

In early times the planets were supposed to be the abodes of powerful gods who regulated human affairs. We now know that the earth on which we live is a planet, and that the other planets are bodies somewhat like it.

Astrology can easily be proved to be false. People sometimes ask for fortunate hours to commence a lawsuit. If both parties consult an astrologer at the same time, they will receive the same answer, although one of them must lose and the other gain. If a queen and a sweeper woman each give birth to a child at the same moment, both will be born under the same planets. Their horoscopes should be the same, but how different will be their future lots !

Some things written in horoscopes come to pass. It may be said of every one born in this world, that if he live he will have sickness at some time or other, and that if he recover, he will not then die ; that he will have seasons of prosperity and adversity ; that he will have friends and enemies. These things may be safely written in every horoscope. But when astrologers pretend to tell how long a person will live or such things, they are merely right in a few cases by chance.

The Hindus themselves on urgent occasion do not consult astrologers. They do not wait for an auspicious hour in cholera or when a man is bitten by a snake. Success in business often depends upon doing things at the right time. A little water will quench a fire at the beginning ; but if allowed to go on, all efforts to put it out may be useless. It is somewhat the same with the work of a farmer, merchant, and every other employment. God has given to each one reason to guide him ; but, if instead of using that, he consult an ignorant astrologer, it is not surprising that he should fail.

Compare the different nations—those that are guided by astrologers and those that are guided by reason. Look at a Hindu almanac. It is filled with directions about lucky and unlucky days and hours. Look, on the other hand, at an English almanac. From beginning to end, there is not a single word about lucky or unlucky times.

Long ago, the English, like the Hindus, believed in astrology. They were then comparatively poor, and had not attained the vast wealth and power they now possess. Wise men found out by careful examination that horoscopes written by the best astrologers were only right now and then by chance ; the true nature of the planets came by degrees to be understood.

Astrology and fortune-telling are so well known to be a cheat, that in England any persons taking money in this way are regarded

as "rogues and vagabonds," and may be sentenced by a magistrate to imprisonment for three months with hard labour.

The great evil of astrology is, that it is a sin against God. It is placing inanimate planets in the room of their Creator.

The one true God is King. He is Lord of heaven above, and of the earth beneath. Agriculture, commerce, government, &c., are all dependent upon His control. Mercury, Mars, Venus, Jupiter, Saturn, the Sun and Moon, are all His servants. They have no authority, not even over the most insignificant things. They are but lifeless bodies, and faith in them is not of the slightest advantage. Let us worship Him alone, who is their and our Creator.

God never changes, never ceases to reign. No one can usurp His authority. No time is more lucky or unlucky than another. Any time is proper for what ought to be done; but anything wrong is equally forbidden at all times, and the guilty must suffer the consequence.

"SELF-CREATED" CAUSES OF INDIAN POVERTY.

This subject rather belongs to "material" progress, but it is so largely connected with social customs, that it is better treated under another head.

Poverty may arise from deficient rainfall and other causes over which we have no control. Such are excluded from the present remarks, which refer only to those which are "*self-inflicted or self-created.*"

1. **Defective Agriculture.**—The average produce per acre, as already mentioned, is only about one-third of the English rate. The plough of the ryot is little better than a crooked stick. Some of his manure he burns as fuel, but the richest part of it, which a Chinaman carefully collects, is left to poison the air or to be washed by the rain into the tank from which he drinks.

2. **False Ideas with regard to Labour.**—Handicraft is despised. The object of ambition, to use Gladstone's words, is to "escape from it into the supposed paradise of pen and ink." While the employment of some persons in public offices is useful to the whole community, their number ought not to be in excess of what is wanted. So far as food, clothing, and shelter are concerned, they are *consumers*, not *producers*. It is to be regretted that English education is swelling the number of discontented idlers. A nation does not become wealthy through mere quill-driving. England owes her prosperity largely to the attention paid to manufactures, agriculture, and commerce; their neglect by the educated classes in India is one of the chief reasons why the circumstances of the people are so depressed.

3. **Early Marriages.**—The custom of child marriage is almost peculiar to India. The rule in other parts of the world is that

marriages should not be contracted till both parties attain adult age. Intelligent, thoughtful persons do not marry till there is a prospect of their being able to support a family. Foresight in this respect conduces to the happiness of a nation, while recklessness must lead to misery.

Professor Runganatha Mudaliyar, of Madras, says,

"I may feel that the best thing I can do for my stupid son is to keep him single, until such time at least as he is able to shift for himself and earns enough to maintain a wife and children with; but such is the tyranny of custom that he must be married as soon as he arrives at man's estate, even though I have the burden of supporting, it may be to the last day of my life, my worthless son and his wife and all the creatures that they may bring into existence."

4. **Extravagant Expenditure at Marriages.**—This is one great cause of poverty and indebtedness in India. The *Oudh Akhbar* draws the following picture of marriage and funeral customs amongst the Muhammadans :

"The luckless man who has to celebrate a marriage has to issue his invitations on powdered and tinselled paper a month before the day: if he leaves out an enemy, he runs the risk of being vilified in a vernacular newspaper. Nor can he calculate the probable number of his guests by the number of invitations he has sent. An invited guest will be sure to bring his brothers and his nephews, and not improbably a friend or two to whom he owes a kindness. Meantime the feelings of the giver of the feast are of a very mixed nature. He cannot quite avoid the thought that for a few brief hours of popularity he has wasted his substance and irretrievably beggared himself and his children. Still the sight of so many hungry friends and the evident thankfulness of the diners buoys him up. He runs into his wife and tells her what a name he has won in the town. She is proud of her husband, and tells him that a good name outweighs mortgaged lands and heaps of bills. At last the great day is over, the account has to be met, and the dinner-giver finds himself a ruined man. He is turned out of house and home, and his wife is received with black looks and blows by the neighbours from whom she begs a crust."

The Pioneer says,

"The difficulty of being economical in ceremonial matters is fully recognised. The prudent head of a family, who spends little on his father's funeral or his son's marriage, has to endure much from his friends. He hears himself styled a miser, craven-hearted, irreligious—a man whose name brings ill luck if uttered in the morning. He goes about the *mohulla* with a hang-dog look, and begins to wish he had done the right thing and run into debt like his impecunious neighbours. 'Expense,' says Bacon, 'ought to be limited by a man's estate;' but according to Indian notions it ought not to stop short of one's credit with the money-lender."

It is the same among Hindus. From their joint family system "there is always somebody to be married or buried; and the

scale of expense does not depend upon the share of the individual, as it would in the case of a separation, but upon the magnitude of the joint family fortune."

The Rev. W. Stevenson, late of Madras, describes as follows a common marriage case:—

"A father is about to get his daughter married; his income is Rs. 50 a month, and he has saved nothing; but it is the custom for one in his position to spend Rs. 500. He knows he hasn't got the means; he must borrow at exorbitant interest, he must put a load of debt on his shoulders, which may grind him down for long years; but what does he do? Does he say honestly—Well, I hav'nt got the money, it is wrong and foolish to burden myself with debt; I'll only spend what I can properly afford, and mind nothing else? No, he says, 'What can I do, Sir? Its our custom, and if I don't spend all this money, my neighbours will put shame on me.' So he foolishly and cowardly puts his neck under the yoke, rather than face a breath of popular opinion."

The above is thus corroborated by Professor Ranganatha Mudaliyar of the same city:—

"It may seem to me to be a profligate waste of money to spend hundreds and thousand of rupees in connection with a marriage or gifts to the well-to-do, on food to the pampered, on dancers and songstresses on processions and illuminations, and on the various shows and festivities that are imagined to be an integral part of marriage; but I must do as others do, or I shall be taunted as a miser, and suspected even by my friends as a possible renegade."

In order to raise grain, it is necessary to have a certain quantity as seed. Somewhat in like manner, money-making is facilitated by having capital to start with. If a father, instead of squandering a large sum on the marriage of his son, invested it in some profitable way for his benefit, it would add greatly to the future comfort of the young married pair. Not only is the money expended thrown away, but this advantage is lost.

Sensible men are aware of the unhappy consequences of the present system. One lover of this country gave up a good official position that he might devote his time to the reform of this abuse. The great difficulty is, that the intelligent, who see its evils, are as much guided by the rabble as the ignorant.

It is quite right to rejoice at marriages. Within due limits, the entertainment of relations and friends is becoming. But let the educated discountenance by every means in their power the foolish and immoral expenditure which now prevails.

5. **The Habit of Borrowing.**—The late Dr. Carey came out to Bengal about the close of last century, and for several years he was an indigo planter. Warmly interested in the condition of the ryots, he urged the establishment of an Agricultural Society for Bengal. In 1821 he wrote thus in the *Quarterly Friend of India*:—

"There may exist circumstances in the habits of a people sufficiently powerful to defeat the most benevolent views of its rulers, and to entail misery where there is every preparation for the enjoyment of happiness.

"Among the numerous causes which contribute to exclude happiness from the natives of India is the *universal tendency to borrow* which pervades the country....It is scarcely possible to assume a greater contrast than between the honest, upright, English peasant, and the Hindu, dragging out an inglorious existence between debt and disgrace, borrowing in one quarter to pay in another, and reluctant to pay in all cases, making no provision for old age, and sitting content beneath the burden of an endless prospect of embarrassment to the last hour of life.

"This disposition to borrow is not confined to one province, to one town, or to one class of individuals. It pervades the whole country with all the inveteracy of a second nature.

"The country is separated into two classes, the borrower and the usurer; the industrious though exhausted poor, and the fat and flourishing money-lender."

Sixty-four years have passed away since the above remarks were written, but it is still the same. The *Dnyanodaya*, in its issue of Dec. 31, 1885, says,

"We know a village in the Konkan (the coast district of the Bombay Presidency) where not a foot of land nor a single house is owned by the inhabitants. They have lost all by mortgaging their little property for the sake of money to spend on marriages. One would think this would teach them a lesson, but when their all is gone, rather than fail to spend a 100 or 200 rupees on the further marriages of their children, cases are known of their selling themselves to their Kote for a period of years, or a life-time."

The tendency to run into debt is not confined to uneducated ryots. The *Indian Mirror* says,

"The Indian ryot is notoriously improvident. But he is not alone in this. It is well known that common sense and prudence leave the Native, whether educated or uneducated, when he has any social ceremonies to perform. On such occasions he is sure to go beyond his means and involve himself."

6. **The Encouragement given to Idlers.**—Though well-directed charity is highly commendable, indiscriminate almsgiving, so common in India, does more harm than good. If a shopkeeper fed every day a strong beggar, supporting him in idleness, would this be true charity? Much of the almsgiving in this country is similarly injurious in its effects. Lazy men are encouraged to depend upon the industrious, instead of supporting themselves. Wealth is thus diminished. Much more grain would be raised if able-bodied beggars worked in the fields.

Many idle vagabonds are entirely supported by the caste feasts and gifts so frequent in this country. They go from place to place

to be present on such occasions. No respectable persons attend, so the whole is spent on the unworthy. If there were no such customs, lazy men would be compelled to work for their living, to their own great benefit. In 1881, the number of vagrants in the Madras Presidency was 153,525.

Professor Runganatha Mudaliyar says,

"Are there not in the town of Madras people of all castes and classes who have chosen to subsist by begging from door to door, and that as a hereditary profession and not as a necessity forced on them by adverse circumstances? And while these beggars by choice deem it no disgrace to beg, do they not consider it a great dishonor and a great hardship to do honest work for daily wages? The thousand and one ways in which a wealthy native is called upon to contribute towards the support of worthless relations and able-bodied beggars are known to every one of my Hindu hearers."

There are still more serious evils connected with indiscriminate almsgiving. Industry is a safeguard against temptation. When a man is busy, he has no time to think of sinful pleasures, while the idle often give way to vice. Some of the worst men in India are the professed devotees of Siva, who wander about the country as beggars. They stupefy themselves with bhang, and are so dissolute that they dare not remain long in one place. They frequently extort alms from ignorant people, who foolishly dread their curses, though these only harm their utterers.

It will readily be admitted, that if alms were given to thieves, enabling them to spend their whole time in robbery, no merit would accrue to the donor. To support men in idleness and vice, is an act much of the same character.

Many, however, give mainly from ostentation. Their object is to get a name for liberality. Jesus Christ says, "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven."

The Hindu family system, while it has some advantages, fosters idleness. "There is a scarcely a married man in the country who has not some of his own or his wife's kindred dependent on his bounty. These he cannot shake off, and they will seldom drop off themselves, but will continue to draw nourishment from his labour while a single meal of rice remains in the house."

If such drones, instead of preying upon the industrious, had to work for their living, there would be much less poverty.

7. Looking up Money in Jewels.—A love of finery is characteristic of children and people in a low state of civilization. An American savage smears himself with different colours, sticks feathers in his head, and struts about like a peacock. Except on a few state occasions, the Queen of England dresses like an ordinary lady. In India, women are sometimes loaded with jewels. In no

other country in the world is there so much gold and silver locked up uselessly in this way. The number of goldsmiths in India exceeds four lakhs.

Hindus have no idea how much they lose by this custom.

It has been shown that the interest on 200 crores, the value of the jewels, would, at 12 per cent, pay the entire land revenue of British India.

Nor is the loss of interest the only drawback. Many robberies are committed for the sake of jewels; numbers of women and children are murdered every year on account of them.

In former times there were no Banks, which was the chief reason why savings were invested in jewels. At present, one use of them is to give them in pledge to money-lenders, for which high interest has to be paid.

There are now Post Office Savings Banks scattered over India, where money can be kept safely and withdrawn at any time, while interest is allowed at the rate of $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Dr. Johnson, writing to a friend, says, “Whatever you have, spend less.” If people would save a little at ordinary times, they would have enough laid past to withdraw from the Bank what was needed on an emergency, and avoid the heavy interest they would otherwise require to pay to the money-lender. They would also not run the risk of robbery for the sake of their money.

8. **Expenditure on Spirits, Opium, &c.**—Several crores are squandered every year on what are fruitful causes of poverty, misery and crime. Brandy works sad havoc among the educated classes; arrack among the lower orders; opium and ganja are equally injurious. Unless checked, the evil will go on increasing, doing more and more mischief.

9. **A Dislike to Emigrate.**—The surplus population of Britain is absorbed by removal to America, Australia, &c. In this way both those who go and those who remain are benefited. The Brahmans sought to keep the Hindus in subjection to their authority by threatening with expulsion from caste all who left India. Partly on this account, partly from ignorant fear and want of energy, the great bulk of the people will not leave their own province. Dr. Hunter refers to the “despairing grip with which millions cling to their half-acre of earth a-piece, under a burden of rack-rent or usury.”

He adds :—

“The poverty of certain parts of India is the direct and inevitable result of the over-population of those parts of India. The mass of the husbandmen are living in defiance of economic laws. A people of small cultivators cannot be prosperous if they marry irrespective of the means of subsistence, and allow their numbers to outstrip the food-producing powers of the soil. Natives must also equalize the pressure on the soil

by distributing themselves more equally over the country. There is plenty of fertile land in India still awaiting the plough. The Indian husbandman must learn to mobilize himself, and to migrate from the overcrowded provinces to the underpeopled ones." pp. 135, 136.

Upper Burma, recently annexed, presents an excellent field for emigrants. Although as large as Bengal, it has only about 4 millions of inhabitants, while Bengal has 63 millions. Large tracts of fertile land remain unoccupied.

It is true that Indian coolies go at present to different English Colonies, but emigration is required on a much larger scale. Government aid is also necessary.

10. Love of Litigation.—Much money is spent and ill feeling awakened by disputes which might easily be settled by the arbitration of friends. The great increase in the number of lawyers will intensify this evil.

Sickness might also be mentioned as a cause of poverty. Even this, is largely "self-created." More than half the sickness in the world arises from disregard of the laws of health. The reader is cautioned against the quack medicines so largely advertised in Native papers. Money is thus wasted on what, as a rule, does more harm than good.

Such are some of the "self-created or self-inflicted" causes of Indian Poverty.

The most effectual way to promote even the material well-being of a nation, is to seek its elevation morally and religiously. At the same time, every injurious custom ought to be abandoned.

There is so much truth in the remark of Dr. Hunter that it is again quoted:—

"The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves."

PURITY.

The revelations connected with a recent trial in London, showed the vice which still lurks in Christian England, though the shock which was given to the public conscience also proved the prevailing moral tone. When some native papers made this an occasion for damaging reflections on the English nation in general, the *Indian Messenger* generously remarked, "Is not vice far more widely prevalent in Indian society? What have we done to repress it? Let not the sieve point to the hole of the needle."

The attention of Indian reformers is directed to a few points where their efforts are specially necessary.

1. Vice in the name of Religion.—The abominations of Paphos and Corinth still exist in India in connection with Hinduism. In the Bombay Presidency, "great numbers of girls are, in infancy, married to the god Khundoba, and are brought up for a life of sanctified

prostitution in connection with the temples of that god." "The victims, after undergoing a ceremonial 'purification,' are branded upon their persons with a heated stamp, and are thus set apart for their filthy work. When hired out to persons wishing to use them as concubines, they pay a monthly tax to the temple, and a considerable revenue is gathered from this source."* In Western India, rich merchants of the Vallabha sect offer their wives and daughters to gratify the lust of their spiritual guides!

The following extract from Dubois refers to the temples of Southern India :—

"Next to the sacrificers, the most important persons about the temples are the dancing girls, who call themselves *deva-dasi*, *servants or slaves of the gods*. Their profession requires of them to be open to the embraces of persons of all castes.

"They are bred to this profligate life from their infancy. They are taken from any caste, and are frequently of respectable birth. It is nothing uncommon to hear of pregnant women, in the belief that it will tend to their happy delivery, making a vow, with the consent of their husbands, to devote the child then in the womb, if it should turn out a girl, to the service of the Pagoda. And, in doing so, they imagine they are performing a meritorious duty. The infamous life to which the daughter is destined brings no disgrace on the family.†"

According to the Madras Census of 1881, the number of female "dancers" in the Presidency was 11,578.‡ Such a number is most lamentable.

The indignant words of Bishop Lightfoot, applied to ancient Greece, refer equally to India :—

"Imagine, if you can, this licensed shamelessness, this consecrated profligacy, carried on under the sanctions of religion and in the full blaze of publicity, while statesmen and patriots, philosophers and men of letters, looked on unconcerned, not uttering one word and not raising one finger to put it down."§

The infamous rites of the Vamacharis of Bengal cannot be described.

At the Holi festival, it is said, "obscenity becomes the measure of piety."

The *Pioneer*, referring to the Mohurram and Holi, says, "Our only hope of escape is a Committee of respectable Natives combining to memorialise the authorities to suppress the orgies of the mob." The *Indian Mirror*, quoting this, adds :—

"This is our idea too, and we sincerely trust our educated countrymen will at once take the hint and act on it. So far as the Holi festival is

* *The Indian Purity Trumpet*. No. 1.

† *Manners and Customs of People of India*, pp. 294, 295.

‡ *Imperial Census*, vol. II. p. 448. § *White Cross Tracts*, No. 1.

concerned, we wonder that no attempt has hitherto been made to put a stop to the abominably obscene songs and filthy proceedings which accompany it. The co-operation of Government is no doubt essential to the effectual suppression of practices so universal and deep-rooted; but we are sure the authorities would interpose on behalf of public morals if an influential body of our countrymen only took the initiative in the matter." April 23, 1872.

2. **Public Women as Actresses.**—"Young Bengal" makes politics his serious business, and amuses himself at theatres. There is quite a rage for theatre-going among certain classes in Calcutta. Formerly the female characters in plays were taken by young men; now women go on the stage, and use it as an opportunity for advertising their charms. On the other hand, Calcutta contains some of the most earnest reformers in India, and it is hoped that through their efforts the "Babu of the Period" may be induced to mend his ways.

The theatre-mania has also spread among the Parsis. The taste does not bode any good to India.

There are brothels in Calcutta near some of the Colleges, corrupting the students. A few successful efforts have been made for their removal.

3. **Nautch Parties.**—Europeans should never countenance by their presence any such exhibitions. It is satisfactory that some young Hindu reformers in Oudh have taken a stand against them. A paper by a "Kashmiri Pandit," which appeared in the *Journal of the National Indian Association*, contains the following:—

"Natch parties. These are the shame of Indian society. Natch girls, who are always of recognised bad character, are allowed to dance before our social gatherings, sometimes even before our ladies in the Zenanas. The influence of these Natch girls upon our art and our morals has been disastrous."

The *Indian Messenger* says that "In the Punjab there is a class of public women who carry on this infamous trade, with the consent of their parents and brothers, the latter living lives of idleness upon their earnings." Probably this "infamous trade" is not confined to the Punjab.

4. **Filthy Speech.**—The use of language inexpressibly vile is almost universal. It is worst, of course, among the lower classes. Women among them, when enraged, make the whole neighbourhood ring with their virulent and obscene language. It is so common that when a policeman in Calcutta was asked to check some people for its use, he said, "They always speak so." But the fact is that most of the native policemen enjoy such language, and are as great offenders as any others.

From north to south it is the same. *Madras Native Public Opinion* says:—

"We have not the consolation of flattering ourselves with the idea, that it is only the lowest classes of Hindus, the offscouring of society, that indulge in this habit, but we find that even men of respectability and of admitted worth, many times cross the bounds of decent speech, and launch into the most obscene invectives, that even Billingsgate would blush to hear."

The *Gujerat Mitra*, a Bombay paper, says :—

"Children from infancy are nursed as it were in this unholy atmosphere, and when they grow to manhood, their vocabulary of conversation consists of a host of immoral words which they have learned to delight in using, and which they too often employ in all the ordinary transactions of life with emphasis."

After noticing the duty of the press and of parents, the article thus concludes :—

"The Educational Department ought to pay very serious attention to our remarks, for does it not seem ridiculous that, while it pretends to initiate our boys into the mysteries of the classics and mathematics, it does absolutely nothing of what it could do for moral instruction by beginning to disallow the use of abusive language even in private conversation?"

4. **Obscene Literature and Pictures.**—Both are prohibited by law, and occasionally men who sell vernacular books of this description are punished. But English books of a similar character, though not quite so gross, have a considerable circulation. Where possible, bad books should be brought to the notice of the authorities.

The *Indian Mirror* calls attention to the pictures, favourites with some Bengalis, which are exposed for sale in Calcutta. When the late Gaikwar of Baroda was deposed, his palace was found to contain a number of obscene pictures which were, very properly, destroyed.

It is often melancholy to mark the change which comes over intelligent promising boys as they grow up, through the influence of immorality. In Muhammadans especially, it can frequently be seen in their very faces. It is eating into them like a canker, and counteracting all efforts for their elevation.

Milton thus describes the downward course of sensuality :—

"But when lust,

By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,
But most by lewd and lavish acts of sin,
Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
The soul grows clotted by contagion,
Embodies and embrates till she quite lose
The divine property of her first being.
Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp,
Oft seen in charnel-vaults and sepulchres,

Lingering and sitting by a new-made grave,
 As loth to leave the body that it loved,
 And link itself by carnal sensuality,
 To a degenerate and degraded sister."

Societies have been formed specially for the promotion of Social Purity. Such deserve the cordial support of every lover of his country. Vigorous efforts should be made to further their object.

The *White Cross Series* of Tracts, written for England, is excellent, but some, more adapted to India, are required. This is a matter which should receive earnest attention. The Rev. W. J. Gladwin, Grant Road, Bombay, issues a small periodical *The Social Purity Trumpet*, and has on sale a variety of publications on the subject.

Above all, let the reader obey the command, "**Keep thyself pure.**"

TEMPERANCE.

This virtue, in its widest sense, implies moderation in the indulgence of every appetite, but it is especially used with reference to the use of intoxicating liquors. There is no doubt that drunkenness prevailed to a considerable extent among the old Aryans. One whole book of the Rig-Veda, containing 114 hymns, is filled with the praises of the intoxicating soma juice. Indra, is thus addressed in the Rig Veda: "O Indra! the learned say that thou art fond of *soma rasa*. We offer it to thee; come to us and drink it for intoxication. Take the full quantity of *soma rasa*." Most of the leading characters in the *Mahabharata* were addicted to strong drink. Taverns seem to have been numerous in the days of Kalidasa, for in the drama of *Sakuntala*, it is proposed to spend half the money given to the fisherman at the nearest liquor shop.*

After a time the evils of intemperance were so much felt, that strong efforts were made, with considerable success, to repress the vice. Drunkenness has always prevailed in India among certain classes; but, as a nation, the people have been temperate for many centuries.

It is deeply to be regretted that, of late years, drinking habits have been acquired by some educated Hindus, whose forefathers never touched intoxicating liquor. This is largely attributable to European example.

There has been a great improvement with regard to drinking habits among the educated classes in England. It is true that there is still much drunkenness among some of the lower orders, but vigorous efforts are being made to promote temperance among them likewise.

* Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*.

When English began to be studied in India, some young men thought that they must imitate English habits as well as learn the language. Among other things, it was considered a mark of manliness and a proof of advance in civilization to use intoxicating drinks. And the liquor generally selected was brandy, the strongest spirit. The evil has been greatest in Calcutta, where the educated classes are the wealthiest, and English has been longest studied.

The *Hindu Patriot* thus describes the results :

"We have daily, nay hourly, evidences of the ravages which the brandy bottle is making upon the flower of our society. Wealth, rank, honor and character, health and talents, have all perished in the blighting presence of this huge monster. Notwithstanding the improved education and resources of our higher classes, it is a notorious fact that they can now save very little, and this new feature of our domestic and social economy is, in a great measure, due to the fell drink-craving. Families once flourishing have been reduced to absolute pauperism by the wreck brought by it."

Nearly three thousand years ago, Solomon gave the following warning :

"Who hath woe ? who hath sorrow ? who hath contentions ? who hath babbling ? who hath wounds without cause ? who hath redness of eyes ? They that tarry long at the wine ; they that go to seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder."

Some young men give up Indian virtues and acquire only European vices. The proper course is to retain whatever is good in old habits ; to add whatever is commendable in Europeans, but to avoid whatever is wrong. Of all European vices, none is more dangerous and destructive than drunkenness. Even the strong constitution of Europeans succumbs to its influence. Among educated Hindus, its effects are as injurious as "fire-water" among the American Indians, causing them to sink into an early grave.

The wine sent to this country usually contains brandy. Granting that the use of pure wine in great moderation would not be injurious, it is much the safer and wiser course for young men in India to imitate the example of their ancestors in confining themselves to water. Many who resolved at the commencement to drink only moderately, have become victims to intemperance ; but this can never happen to the man who altogether abstains from strong drink. Never acquire the habit, and the want will never be felt.

The Hindus, for many centuries, did not use intoxicating liquors : why should they be necessary now ? Has any change come over their constitution ? The Greeks had a saying, "Water is best." In England men training as wrestlers, are not allowed to take even beer. Brandy may indeed stimulate for a time, but it is soon

followed by greater exhaustion than ever. A walk in the open air or a cup of good tea, is a far better restorative.

But educated Hindus use strong drink chiefly for mere enjoyment. Dinners are thought incomplete without intoxicating liquors. Customs dying out in England have been revived, as drinking healths. A Hindu in Western India complains, "Go wherever you may, the first thing offered is brandy pani. This has taken the place of pan-sopari." The practice of offering wine to visitors, no longer exists among respectable classes in England.

The use of opium is equally injurious, and the hold it attains is still more terrible.

One of the most lamentable effects of intemperance is that it tends to become hereditary. The children of drunkards have a weak constitution; they are corrupted by the example of their parents, and the evil often goes on increasing, till the family becomes extinct.

Every lover of this country should strive to the utmost to check the ravages of a vice to which already some of the brightest intellects in India have fallen victims. Such a course is demanded even by personal considerations. It has been well remarked, "No reputation, no wisdom, nor hardly any worth, will secure a man against drunkenness."

Direct measures to check Intemperance.—Every good influence operates more or less in this direction. The circulation of books and tracts showing the evils of the vice, is a very valuable agency. In addition the following means are useful.

Total Abstinence Societies.—The members of these agree to abstain entirely from the use of all intoxicating liquors. There are two classes of them.

Band of Hope Societies are intended for the young. The reformation of drunkards, though not impossible, is extremely difficult. The habit, once formed, is apt to break out again when any strong temptation presents itself. Where the taste has not been acquired, there is comparative safety. The "hope" of reformation lies chiefly with the young.

Total Abstinence Societies for adults are also necessary. By means of them numbers may be rescued. Some will say that it is very desirable for persons who have acquired intemperate habits or are in danger from them to join such societies, but where there is due moderation, such a step is unnecessary.

In reply to this, it may be remarked that all drunkards, as a rule, did not at first go to excess. No man who takes liquor can be certain that he will not at last become intemperate. But there is another reason. Drunkards require encouragement to join such societies. This is given when persons of high position and character

become members. The English Societies include noblemen, bishops noted for their learning and piety, and others. Sir Donald Stewart, late Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, has been a total abstainer for several years.

Some Societies have a strip of blue ribbon as a sign of membership. Hence the phrase, the *Blue Ribbon Army*. The reader is strongly recommended to join such an association, and use all his influence to induce others to follow his example. Under the present circumstances of India, in few ways can he more benefit his country.

Reduction in the number of Liquor Shops.—Every place where intoxicating drink is sold is a source of temptation. There should be as few of them as possible. In some parts of the United States of America they are entirely forbidden. What is called the "Permissive Bill," or "Local Option," is advocated by some good men in England. It denotes that when the majority of the people of a place are opposed to the establishment of liquor shops, they are not to be allowed. Keshab Chandra Sen wrote, "If any nation can claim the benefit of the Permissive Bill as a matter of birth-right, it is the Indian nation."

The principle should be conceded as a part of "Self-Government."

Though some individual officers may selfishly and wickedly seek to increase revenue by promoting intemperance, the highest authorities sincerely wish to prevent the spread of the vice in India.

The great argument against the shutting of taverns is that it will lead to illicit sale. The effort ought to be to excite so strong a public opinion against this, as to render it impossible.

Meanwhile, the friends of temperance in all parts of the country should present memorials to Government, asking for the abolition of liquor shops, wherever it can be done with advantage.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM.

The "Report of the Indian Education Commission" is very valuable, and is a noble memorial of the warm interest taken by the Marquis of Ripon in the education of the people of this country. If the practical results have yet not been great, the fault does not lie with the Report.

A few remarks may be made under this important head.

1. **The religious element should receive more attention.**—Lord Ripon, while acknowledging that there ought to be the strictest religious neutrality on the part of Government, said at Amritsar:—

"For myself, I have always held and maintained at home—and my views upon that subject have undergone no change, though I have come many miles across the sea—that no education can be complete and thorough, if it does not combine religious and secular education."

It is not proposed that Government should teach any of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity or any other religion, but there are great truths to which none but a few atheists would object.

It is said that Daniel Webster was once asked, "What is the greatest thought that ever occupied your mind?" After a solemn pause, he replied, "The greatest thought I ever had or can have, is the sense of my accountability to God."*

Mr. Garthwaite, Government Inspector, says in a letter to the Madras Director of Public Instruction:—

"Our school-books have hitherto recognised at least that there is a God, great and good and wise; that we should love and obey Him; that it is His wish that we should be just and kind to one another; and that the more like Him we are the happier we shall be, and the less like Him the more unhappy. In twenty years' experience in India I have never met any Native who objected to having his children taught such truths—rather the reverse—and as on these points Hindoos, Muhammedans, and Christians are agreed, in teaching them there is no violation of the principle of religious neutrality."†

While the above teaching is found in some Government School Books, Huxley remarks about Hume is applicable to others: "It cannot be said that (their) theological burden is a heavy one." There are Readers in which the terms for God, the soul and a future state do not occur.

Things are perhaps worst in Bengal. The following is from the *Sunday Mirror*:—

"We decidedly object to the tone of the Bengali primers used in our Schools. We are sorry to say these books totally eschew the religious sanctions of morality, so much so that the word God is not to be found in their pages. It follows from this that boys of five to eight years of age are kept in woeful ignorance of such a Being as God; and strange to say it is these books which are used as texts wherever the Bengali language is taught." Jan. 4th, 1880.

The *Bornoporichoy* is the elementary reading book most largely used. In the 67 pages which the two parts contain there does not seem to be a single allusion to God or a future state. The grand argument against telling lies or using bad words is that a boy will be disliked as others if he does.

The *Bornoporichoy* is often followed by the *Bodhodoy*, based on *The Rudiments of Knowledge*, published by Messrs. Chambers; but the Bengali translation is mutilated as described below.

The original contains the following:—

"It is our duty to love God and to pray to Him, and thank Him for all His mercies."

* Quoted in Fraser's Report on Schools in the United States, p. 168.

† Report of the Madras School-Book Committee, Appendix pp. xx, xxi.

This has been *omitted*. The original contains the following :—

“When a body is dead, all its life is gone. It cannot see or feel, or move; it is an inanimate object, and is so unpleasing to look upon, that it is buried in the ground, where it rots into dust, and is no more seen on earth. *But although the bodies of mankind die and are buried, they have SOULS which live for ever, and which are given up to God who gave them.*”

The passage in italics, referring to a future state, has been *omitted*. The translation merely states that the body is buried or burned on the funeral pile. The original contains the following :—

“Mankind are called *rational* or *reasoning beings*, in consequence of having minds to reflect on what they see and do. They are also called *responsible* or *accountable beings*, because they have souls, which are accountable to God for actions done during life. But none of the lower animals are rational or accountable beings. They have not souls to be accountable, nor minds capable of thinking. They do not know right from wrong. When a beast dies it perishes for ever.”

The above clearly points out the distinction between men and brutes. The latter perish for ever at death; the former have souls and are responsible beings. The whole passage has been omitted. Yet such looks are largely used in some Mission Schools and even by some ladies in Zenana teaching. It should be mentioned that they are private publications. The Bengal Educational Department does not issue any school books.

The *Edinburgh Review* says,

“It is beyond dispute that the question of educating India, and the question of the probable effects of the precipitation upon India, like tropical rain from the sky, of such a shower of knowledge as is likely to wash away all its old land-marks, are at this moment in the foreground of the Indian situation. These questions have a direct bearing not only on all the moral and religious problems that are presenting themselves in the country, but on the delicate and complex task that has now been undertaken, of making political reforms keep even step with the social and intellectual advance of the whole empire.” Jan. 1884, p. 16.

Even in a political point of view alone, the feeling of responsibility to a living Creator would have a most salutary effect upon the people.

One of the greatest dangers to which Mission Schools are now liable is that of being secularised through Government influence. Several years ago, the Rev. W. Saumarez Smith, who had good opportunities for forming a judgment, gave the following caution :—

“We cannot but think that a danger is arising from the increased facilities which are being given to Missionary Societies for getting aid from Government in educational work; the danger, namely, lest the religious part of the instruction should be edged out of the Missionary Schools by the pressing demand for secular instruction, and the whole tone of the School, masters and students, be brought down to the level of a non-missionary School.”

While some Mission Schools have resisted this influence, others have succumbed to it, and, exclusive of a short time professedly devoted to religious instruction, do not differ from Government Schools. Except in purely secular subjects, as arithmetic, a Christian tone should pervade the whole course of instruction in Mission Schools.

2. Education should be used to promote Social Reform.—It has been said, "What you would put into the life of a nation, put into its schools." One of the most effectual means of putting any instruction into schools, is to put it into the *school books*.

The late Dr. Duff was one of the ablest and most successful educationists in India. He expresses the following opinion about School-Books :—

"‘Give me,’ says one ‘the songs of a country, and I will let any one else make its laws.’ ‘Give me,’ says another, ‘the school-books of a country, and I will let any one else make both its songs and its laws.’ That early impressions—impressions co-eval with the first dawns of intelligence, impressions made when a new world is opening with the freshness of morning upon the soul—are at once the most vivid and most indelible, has passed into a proverb."

An intelligent teacher, if compelled to use inferior class books, will make up largely for their deficiencies by oral instruction. In India, however, except in a few superior schools, as Mr. Hodgson Pratt, formerly Inspector of Schools in Bengal, observes, "The book is every thing, for the Master cannot supply what it fails to give."

But even in the case of the best teachers, it is a great advantage to have good text-books. Oral instruction must be limited, and if the pupils can *read* as well as *hear*, the lessons will be doubly impressed upon the mind.

One of the greatest faults of the British Government of India has been want of adaptation to the circumstances of the country, the attempt has largely been—to reproduce England, pure and simple. Indian education is marked by the same defect. There are some Missionaries who place Nelson's Royal Readers in the hands of their pupils just as if they were in Scotland. When thoughtful men, like Sir George Campbell or the Earl of Northbrook, visited some Indian Schools, they were struck with this incongruity. In his recent article in *The Fortnightly*, Sir Alfred Lyall refers to the "English text-books" as "full of outlandish and unfamiliar allusions."

The Report of the Education Commission has the following remarks on the use of such books in India :—

"Adapted or unadapted, the books that are most suitable, because conveying the most familiar ideas, to English children, are most

unsuitable to natives of India. Though often compelled to read about such things, the Indian learner knows nothing of hedge-rows, birds-nesting, hay-making, being naughty, and standing in a corner." p. 346.

There are more serious objections to their use.

Home books, prepared for a very different state of things, are not fitted to promote *social* reform in this country. The tendency to run into debt, neglect of female education, early marriages, the cruel treatment of widows, caste, &c., are crying evils, not one of which is alluded to in books published in England; but which can be exposed in books prepared specially for India.

Many school books drawn up even in India quite ignore the social condition of the people. It is true that in Government School Books caste could not be dealt with, but *thrift*, at all events, might be inculcated. An English Reading Book has a lesson "Every Man his own Pawnbroker," very appropriate to India. So with several other evils. For reforms to be carried out thoroughly, it is necessary to influence the whole people. Education is one of the most valuable agencies for this purpose. Though slow, it is sure.

Home Reading Books are not adapted to Mission Schools in a *religious* point of view. This ought to be the most important consideration. They are now almost purely secular, or do not go beyond Natural Religion.

Sufficient care has not been given by Government to the preparation of text-books. The School Book Committee, appointed by the Madras Government, recommended that such a task should be entrusted to a qualified officer, set apart for this special duty. "We have no faith in work done at odd moments by gentlemen jaded with teaching or examining." Yet the reliance of Government has hitherto been on *such work*.

The foregoing remarks refer specially to *School Books*. University Students should read the usual English classics.

3. **Education should conduce more to "Material Progress."**—It was at first a necessity for Government to establish Colleges to provide educated officers. As the students were comparatively few, most of them, on the completion of their course, obtained good appointments. Now, however, the supply far exceeds the demand. Petty shopkeepers, peons and domestic servants are making great efforts to get an English education for some of their children in the hope that they will obtain Government office. "In England," said the late Bishop Milman, "such youths would, with satisfaction to themselves and benefit to the community, look forward to an honest life of handicraft work, to be bakers, carpenters, tailors, labourers, and workers in some shape or other; here they wish to live by their wits. It is a simple impossibility."

The late Maharaja of Travancore, in a lecture, "Our Industrial

Status," delivered when he was First Prince, referring to the scholars in the State schools, says :—

"Almost without exception, all these, I suspect, look to Government employment. The posts of English writers, native Rayasams, and accountants are necessarily limited. Still more so are Police-Aminships, Tahsildarships, Munsiffships, Sirastadarships, Judgeships and Peshkarships. But the *ships*, in which our young men, following the impulse of a fertile imagination, have embarked, must, in many cases, land them in a dreamy land of disappointment. If our Government must provide for all the youths that receive education, our public offices will have to be extended miles, and public salaries to be increased by thousands of rupees, and after all to entertain a host of discontented, disobedient, and sometimes troublesome young men. The sooner the idea that Government employment is the *Ultima Thule* of education is scooped out of the heads of our youths, the better. Be assured that the wielding of a spade or the driving of a plough, or the treading of a watering lever, in one's own interest, is not a whit less honourable than scratching foolscap with goose quills, taken by itself."

The British Government is often blamed, because educated Hindus cannot get employment; but it will be seen from the foregoing, that it is the same in a Native State. As remarked, public offices would require to be "extended miles" to receive candidates, and larger and larger additions would be necessary every year.

The craving extends, more or less, even to vernacular schools. Mr. Nesfield, Inspector of Schools, Oudh, says that he was once present at a "large gathering of pupils from primary schools (vernacular). The Deputy Commissioner asked them why they came to school at all. Fifty voices answered at once, *to get employment*. He then asked, what employment? and the answer immediately was, *Government*. The desire to obtain employment, and thus escape from the paternal plough or workshop, is almost universal among our Vernacular students. &c.*

"Nihilism in Russia," says the *Athenæum*, "is as yet almost entirely confined to a small section of the educated classes. Russia possesses a kind of intellectual proleteriat in the persons of a host of university paupers, maintained at the expense of the State and the country. It is from this proleteriat, from the failures of the civil, military, and ecclesiastical Schools, that Nihilism draws its most determined recruits." Oct. 14, 1882.

Under the present system, similar results may be expected in India. Professor Monier Williams says.

"Those who are unsuccessful in gaining appointments will not turn to manual labour, but remain discontented members of society and enemies of our Government, converting the little real education they have received into an instrument to injure us by talking treason and writing seditious articles in native journals."†

* *Calcutta Review*, 1883, p. 310.

† *Modern India*, p. 175.

Years ago the late Hon. J. B. Norton, of Madras, said,

"This reliance upon Government, and seeking after its employ, to the exclusion of all other legitimate and honourable means of obtaining a livelihood, has to the present moment been the principal bane and curse of Native society."

Sir Richard Temple, addressing some students in Calcutta, remarked :—

"Then I must entreat you not to look too much to Government appointments as constituting the one great end of educational life. Doubtless the Government will always do, as it has heretofore done, all it fairly can for you in these respects. But you should try to strike out paths for yourselves, and to seek for non-official employment. You cannot all enter the public service; you cannot all rise to good positions."

Like gamblers in a lottery, all the young men who enter College hope to be successful. Notwithstanding the repeated warnings given, "thousands persist in embarking in the same course."

Our present system throws the whole stream of educated men into the narrow channels of Government employ and law, with the unfortunate results already pointed out. The current should be diverted, where it will fructify, instead of causing unwholesome swamps. Professor Williams says :—

"I believe the defects of our present system are beginning to be acknowledged. Many think we shall be wiser to educate the generality of natives in their professions and callings rather than above them—to make a good husbandman a better one, a good mechanic more skilful in his craft—and only to give higher forms of education in exceptional cases."

One great difficulty is that Government action is liable to be attributed to a desire on the part of the "bureaucracy" to discourage the higher education, that they may retain all the good appointments for themselves. Strenuous opposition has been put forth when it has been proposed to close any of the English Arts Colleges. Indeed, the matter has got beyond the power of Government. If every State College were shut, Private Colleges would take their place.

Most is to be expected from the teaching of experience. According to the laws of Hindu society, every man, possessing any means, is bound to provide for all his relatives. Even in former times it was often abused. Persons were tempted thus to obtain the necessaries of life without labour. English education will swell to an intolerable extent the number of men "living on their friends"—unwilling to dig, but not ashamed to beg.

Government should co-operate as far as possible. The Education Commission Report says,

"One of the questions put to witnesses before the Commission ran as follows: 'Is the attention of teachers and pupils in secondary schools

unduly directed to the Entrance Examination of the University?' The replies to this question are singularly unanimous. It has been felt in all provinces, and urged by many witnesses that the attention of students is too exclusively directed to University studies and that no opportunity is offered for the development of what corresponds to the modern side of schools in Europe. It is believed that there is a real need in India for some corresponding course which shall fit boys for industrial or commercial pursuits at the age when they commonly matriculate, more directly than is effected by the present system." pp. 219, 220.

Some private efforts are being made in this direction.

The Hon. A. Mackenzie, a Madras merchant, gave the following advice to students in Pacheappa's College.—

"Does it never occur to you that to depend for your livelihood on a salary drawn out of the taxes paid by your countrymen cannot add to the wealth or prosperity of your country? Do you never think it your duty to your country to try and make her more like what other nations are? I dare say you do, but that you do not know how to begin. Well, remember that in all other countries there was a time when manufactures first began, and depend upon it what the men of other nations have done the men of India can do if they will only try. I appeal now on your behalf and on that of your country to your parents and relations and to the trustees of these schools. I ask, is it not possible to combine with the school teaching some form of English prose reading which will give the boys some general information as to the process of manufacture of articles of daily use? For example, extracts from such books as McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce or Ure's Dictionary of Manufactures, printed in pamphlet form, which could be used as school books for English reading. Is it impossible to form classes for elementary Chemistry, Geology, Botany, Mechanics? Cannot something be done to impress upon the youthful mind that there are other occupations in the world to which a man can devote skilled intelligence and clever brains than the mechanical drudgery of a mercantile office, or the profitless routine of a cutchery? I appeal to you on behalf of the youth of India and in the interests of your country and countrymen to consider this matter. Every day the difficulty of providing in the old grooves of employment for your educated youth is increasing. You have provided enough and to spare for all requirements in the old grooves. You must now educate for fresh fields of work, and turn the energy and enterprise of your youth into fresh channels."*

Mr. Mackenzie makes the useful suggestion that Reading Books might contain lessons fitted to aid in developing the resources of the country. A Director General of Commerce, like Sir Lyon Playfair, would, in course of time, be able to suggest which industries might thus be brought before students with most advantage.

The same course might be followed with reference to School books for rural districts. It is said with truth that "Our present system

* *Madras Mail*, April 15th, 1884.

of education tends to give the native youth a taste for a town, rather than a country, life"—“the very thing which ought not to be done.”

It is a difficult problem how to educate the people of India without giving them a dislike to manual labour. Night Schools have been tried in a few places. In the United States, many lads work during summer and attend school during winter. Possibly a modification of some such plan might be practicable in India.

The full influence of Government should be thrown unto the scale of agricultural, technical or otherwise industrial education.

Already the more intelligent Natives feel the necessity of this, and Government will have their co-operation in its efforts.

Easy lessons on health are valuable in school books. Very much of the sickness in the country is preventable. Sanitary regulations would be carried out more effectually if the people understood their *rationale*, instead of looking upon them as mere freaks of the English.

THE NATIVE PRESS.

Hicky's Gazette, which appeared in Calcutta in 1780, was the first newspaper published in India. The first vernacular periodical was commenced in 1822 by the Serampore Missionaries. When in 1835 Sir Charles Metcalfe abolished the “Press Regulations,” “there were only six native papers,” says Sir Roper Lethbridge, “and these in no way political.”

Luker's *Indian Press Guide* for 1885 gives the number of Newspapers and Periodicals published in India* as follows: English 175, Bilingual 51, Bengali 24, Burmese 1, Canarese 3, French 1, Gujarati 31, Hindi 15, Malayalam 4, Marathi 17, Oriya 3, Punjabi 1, Persian 1, Portuguese 4, Sanskrit 1, Tamil 10, Telugu 3, Urdu, or Hindustani, 102, total 448. As a “first year” the list is necessarily imperfect, but it gives a fair approximation to the truth. Many changes take place in native journals. Some are very short-lived.

English Publications, it will be seen, form more than one-third of the whole. English is also generally one of the languages in Bilingual publications. Of 16 daily English papers, only one, the *Indian Mirror*, is in Native hands. *The Hindu* is issued tri-weekly. Numerous weekly and monthly Newspapers and Magazines are edited by Natives.

Urdu heads the list of Vernacular languages with 102 papers—fully equal to all the others taken together. Most of them, however, have a very small circulation. The only daily is the *Oudh Akhbar*,

* Other Eastern Countries given in the *Guide* are excluded.

published at Lucknow. Gujarati comes next with 31 papers, including three dailies. Commerce, more than politics, interests the Gujaratis. Bengali and Marathi are the only two other languages in which vernacular newspapers have much influence.

Some of the vernacular papers have an average circulation of only about 50 copies. "Frequently" says Sir George Birdwood, "the whole circulation of one of these smaller papers is paid for by some native of property or position to promote his personal views and ends, or it may be simply for the pleasure of circulating his praises amongst friends and neighbours."*

As might be expected, Native editors vary much in character and abilities. In a recent Convocation Address, the Hon. C. P. Ilbert thus acknowledged the merits of the late Hon. Kristo Das Pal, editor of the *Hindu Patriot* :—

"Succeeding, at the age of some of our graduates of to-day, to the management of one of the oldest organs of public opinion in this country, by the readiness and versatility of his pen, by the patient industry which he displayed in mastering the details of the subjects with which he undertook to deal, by the fairness, breadth and moderation of his utterances, he gradually and steadily advanced its reputation during his 23 years of editorship, and raised it from a nearly moribund condition to the first place among native Indian Journals."

Sir George Birdwood says of some of the Bombay Editors that "they are men who would distinguish themselves anywhere, and have indeed distinguished themselves in other callings than that of journalism, and for their disinterested public spirit." On the other hand he says:

"We have educated the country beyond its needs, and its capacity for providing for educated men, and yearly the ranks of the educated are swollen by thousands, but there is as yet no livelihood for them. There is nothing left for the educated native so perfectly congenial to him as an educated man, as the native press, and he becomes the editor and probably the proprietor of a vernacular newspaper. He is a discontented soured man to begin with, and we have educated him in the manner best calculated to perfect and point the expression of discontent... This is the reason of the almost microscopical scrutiny with which the pettiest details of administration in India are watched, and of the bitter spirit in which the shortcomings and misdeeds of individual officials are exposed."

Calcutta has some of the best and worst Native papers in India. The high testimony borne to the *Hindu Patriot* has been quoted. But there are others of a very different character. The *Indian Mirror*, in 1874, had the following remarks :—

"Any one who will go through the weekly reports on the Native papers, cannot help thinking that in the current vocabulary of our con-

* *Journal of the Society of Arts*, March 23, 1877.

temporaries, education means the loss of respect for the Government; public spirit is synonymous with empty bluster; patriotism is hatred of Englishmen, and impartiality is gross abuse."

It is satisfactory that such journals are condemned by enlightened Native opinion. A correspondent addressed the *Indian Mirror* as follows:—

"It pains me extremely to read some of the articles of the *Amrita Bazar Patrica*. The Editor of that paper, doubtless misguided by false notions of patriotism, has taken into his head of serving his country by heaping censures upon the character of the ruling race of the land. I shall not stop here to enquire into the justness or otherwise of such censures. Suffice it to say that even if they were true, the mode in which they have been expressed shows a spirit of hostility little calculated to reconcile the conquerors with the conquered. Such indiscreet, go-ahead effusions render the breach between the Europeans and the Natives still wider, and make those Englishmen who have really the welfare of India at their hearts think that their sympathy is wasted upon beings who do not possess a spark of gratitude in them."*

Things apparently have not improved during the last dozen years. The results are what might have been anticipated. *The Hindu* quotes the following:—

"A Calcutta contemporary advocates the advisability of checking the unhealthy growth of political agitation amongst school-boys and students. . . . It strongly contends that, if this course is not followed something must be done to check mendacious scurrility that is sapping the foundation of the society which, in a few years, will take the place of that which now constitutes the educated society of Bengal."†

A gentleman in Calcutta who has lived much among the people writes:—

"The insubordinate and disrespectful demeanour of Bengali school-boys has of late years been obvious to most people. Two leading Government Colleges—the Engineering College and the Presidency College—have dealt publicly and severely with the insubordination of their pupils. The Calcutta public thoroughfares have witnessed to student-rowdiness. During the last twenty years the school and college young boys and young men have deteriorated in respect for superiors and submission to proper authority. Parents have more difficulty in ruling their households than was the case a generation back. Boys and youths, not a few, refuse to go to school, and refuse to work; they disobey their parents and openly defy authority; they go where they like, associate with whom they like, and spend what time they like at home."

It is admitted that more or less of the same spirit may be seen in other parts of the world, and that various causes may have contributed to it in Bengal; but undoubtedly it is due, in no small measure, to the tone of the Native press.

* Letter dated 26th June, 1874.

† 31st October, 1885.

The British Government is strong enough to treat with contempt the attacks made upon it, and few Europeans see Native papers; but the welfare of the people themselves requires moderation in criticism. Pseudo-patriots, though applauded by unthinking Hindus for their supposed spirit, are in reality the worst enemies of their country. They may say to the feeling which they are endeavouring to create, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further,"—only Europeans are to be despised—but it will laugh them to scorn. Their own sons will not be slow to act in a similar way, and look upon their fathers as old fools. No one ever wronged another without doing a far greater wrong to himself.

The Hindu is the only native paper having a large circulation in South India. Some of its editorial utterances have already been quoted, e. g. "that the English are the most avaricious and selfish people in the world" (see page 48); that "English merchants during a sway of nearly a century rifled the land of all its wealth," and that "the spoliation of India is going on as vigorously as ever" (page 41); that "our 'beneficent' Government takes to itself no less than 47 per cent of the produce, (and) levies innumerable other contributions" (p. 52); that "the enormous growth of foreign trade does not in the least indicate growing prosperity in the condition of its people," "it simply indicates the indebtedness of India and her growing material exhaustion" (p. 42); that "the increase in the import of gold and silver as a sign of growing prosperity of the people is fallacious" (p. 47); that "it is by no means certain that the extension of railways has been an unmixed blessing to India; that it has not carried in its train effects that have been the principal cause of the impoverishment of the Indian people" (p. 20); that the alleged improvement of the country is based only on the "crude notions on economic subjects" of the Anglo-Indian Press, or only shows "by what distortion of facts and fallacious logic the boasts of the Indian bureaucracy have to be made to look plausible." (p. 41).

"Young Madras," like "Young Bengal," is taking to politics. With *The Hindu* as his "guide, philosopher, and friend," it is no wonder that he considers the "Present Outlook" rather black. However, like Cato, he does not despair of the State, but calls upon his countrymen to come to the rescue of India, and "strive to restore her from the low estate into which she has drifted." (p. 42.)

No doubt the editor of *The Hindu*, like Mr. Hyndman, believes that India is "Bleeding to Death," but whether he believes it or not, as in the case of the astrologers mentioned by Sir Madhava Rao, the mischief is all the same. "Young Madras" must logically come to the conclusion of *The Liberal*, that the "bureaucracy," "like an immense vampire have sat brooding over India, and draining her almost to her heart's blood during the last century and more" (p. 41).

His loyalty must be of a very robust character to stand such a strain.

The chief grievance in Native Papers is the employment of Europeans by Government. This is the Indian *Delenda est Carthago*. One great incentive to political agitation is what the Americans call the "spoils of office." While the substitution of Native for European agency is advocated as far as is consistent with the interests of the Empire, the cry can only be expected to wax louder and louder. As Sir George Birdwood remarks, "The evil would not be materially abated even were every appointment under the Government of India thrown open to natives, for the appointments would not suffice for more than a fraction of the competitors for them."

Sir George Birdwood thus mentions another grievance: "Scarcely a copy of the native papers is published without some complaint of the discourtesy and harshness of Europeans towards natives."

There is some truth in the following palliation, mentioned by the Rev. F. Gell in a lecture at Poona:—

"On landing in this country most of us are at once surrounded by the very worst specimens of the Asiatic races; I mean as servants. These are men who only know the European as an ignorant and very gullible person; fierce and foolish by terms; ignorant of their language, of their customs, and of the intricacies of the Bazaars, in which their superiority lies. And at the same time these servants are unacquainted with the very existence of those branches of knowledge which give the European his superiority. They naturally conceive a contempt for their inexperienced master, qualified only by some fear of his violence and some respect for his purse. What result is to be expected from such a relationship? It too frequently produces in the mind of the Englishman an estimate of the native character illogical and unjust, but unfortunately often irremovable. A hasty generalisation condemns all natives alike for the faults of the worst, who were first known; and though a man may shake off his first set of servants, he finds it much more difficult to shake off his first formed impressions. National contempt produces rudeness; intercourse becomes impossible; and so small a cause as I have mentioned, swells in its results into one of the most prolific evils of India."

The Natives of India may be assured that none regret more than many Englishmen any cases of rudeness or harshness shown by their countrymen. Mr. Laing, when Finance Minister, said in a lecture in Calcutta:—

"In the very front of all, in the post of honor and danger, stands the little band of Englishmen in India, upon whose almost individual conduct it depends whether the connection between England and India is to be the proudest page or the deepest blot of our national annals. If by rudeness and want of sympathy, by sloth and apathy, by selfishness and degrading habits, we make the natives of India hate and despise, where they should have loved and esteemed us, we are traitors to the

cause of England and to the cause of civilization. But if by maintaining a high standard ourselves, and using our position and opportunities rightly, we conciliate respect and good-will, and maintain the *prestige* of the English name, there is no European in India, however humble, who may not have his reward in feeling that he too has not lived in vain, and he too has had a share in the work of building up of an empire."

Of late years, no duty has been more strongly pressed upon Englishmen going out to India than that of treating the people with kindness. The great difficulty is with mechanics, and with young men, who, all the world over, sometimes show disrespect even to their own fathers. Some complaints, however, are frivolous. It has been made a grievance, to be spread all over India, that a high official, just arrived from England, on being introduced to a mixed company did not shake hands all round.

The *Indian Mirror* also gives the following just reproof:—

"If ten Englishmen behave haughtily towards the Natives, they deserve to be condemned, and they will be condemned throughout the civilized world by every right-thinking man. What we contend for is that while we are apt to animadvert on the overbearing conduct of a certain class of Englishmen, we seem indifferent or perhaps blind to the same defect in ourselves."

The *Times of India* says, "No Englishman treats the Natives of this country with the contempt and insolence which high caste Hindoos habitually display towards their low-caste brethren."

The remarks of Lord Napier, addressed to the graduates of the Madras University, apply with peculiar force to the Editors of Native Newspapers:—

"Remember, gentlemen, that you, the adopted children of European civilization, are the interpreters between the stranger and the Indian, between the Government and the subject, between the great and the small, between the strong and the weak; that you walk armed with a two-fold knowledge between two nations that do not know each other, that cannot know each other except through you. Will you carry a faithful or a deceitful message? If you are the ingenuous and careful representatives of England's good-will to India and of India's claims on England, then you will put your talent to a noble use; if on the other hand you hesitate, misconstrue and conceal, if you show the Government in false colours to the country and the country in false colours to the Government, then you do a double wrong, a wrong to England and a wrong to India, you widen what you ought to close, you alienate where you ought to reconcile, you continue distrust and perpetuate misconception where it is your mission to spread mutual confidence and mutual light. I charge you to lay this future in your position particularly to heart. Be true Englishmen to Indians—be true Indians to Englishmen, with rectitude and single-mindedness as becomes faithful interpreters."

The following sound advice is given by the Hon. Justice T. Muttuswami Aiyar, of the Madras High Court:—

“The art of public criticism is still in its infancy in this country, and many of the elderly members of the educated classes are in the public service, and at least for some time to come it is our young men who will be our journalists: a few suggestions to them may not be out of place. So long as they collect facts and place them before the public they render to the country real service, and they should only see that their statement of facts is scrupulously correct. In forming and expressing opinions upon them they should take care that those opinions are not one-sided and sectarian, but fair and impartial, and that they do not overstep the bounds of sobriety and moderation in them. As public men will seldom attach weight to rabid utterances, the tone, the diction and the spirit of the young Editor should always be those of the gentleman. It was once observed by an eminent statesman that before all things and above all things he was an English gentleman, and the qualification of being a gentleman in tone, thought, feeling and diction is indispensable in every honorable profession. He should always shrink from imputing unworthy motives to public men. Whilst he should earnestly suggest and advocate reforms and improvements, his verdict on public acts and measures should not ignore the principle of statesmanship that no statesman will and ought to make a second step in advance before the first step made by him is an unqualified national and political success.”*

It is true that there is sometimes most disgraceful writing in a few Anglo-Indian journals, as in that quoted in *New India* from the *Bengal Times*.† There is still worse writing in some London papers, but as Sir George Birdwood remarks, “We treat them simply as lepers, and put them altogether out of the camp of journalism.”

Race antagonism, as already mentioned, threatens to become one of the greatest evils in India. Whether it will increase or diminish will depend largely upon the Anglo-Indian and Native Press.

There have been faults on both sides. Each must make the confession,

“For I have sinn’d; oh, grievously and often;
Exaggerated ill, and good denied”

The poet adds,

“Be wiser, kindlier, better than thou art.”

General Vernacular Literature.—Space does not permit this to be noticed. The Native publications, thus far, consist chiefly of reprints of lives of the gods, poetry, books on divination, &c. Not a few, like the *Vidya Sundar*, so popular in Bengal, are obscene. Popular literature of a healthy character is greatly needed.

RELIGIOUS REFORM.

Indian patriots are now rejoicing in the signs of awakening

* Lecture at Trichinopoly, pp. 18, 19. † *New India* p. 89.

national life, and looking forward to the time when their country will be more self-governing. But there is a still nobler freedom :

“ He is the freeman whom the truth makes free,
And all are slaves beside.”

A PURE FAITH is India's greatest need, although often it receives least attention. Indeed, there are Indian graduates who, with perverted ingenuity, try to justify some of the worst features of Hinduism. On the other hand, there are a few enlightened zealous men who see the necessity of a change in the national creed as the only radical cure for the evils of India, and the only way of satisfying the longings of their own souls.

Hinduism is the chief obstacle to social reform. Rao Bahadur M. G. Ranade expressed the following opinion in a letter to Mr. M. Malabari :—

“ Our deliberate conviction, however, has grown upon us with every effort, that it is only a religious revival that can furnish sufficient moral strength to work out the complex social problems which demand our attention. Mere considerations of expediency or economical calculations of gains or losses can never nerve a community to undertake and carry through social reforms, especially with a community like ours, so spell-bound by custom and authority. Our people feel and feel earnestly, that some of our social customs are fraught with evil, but as this evil is of a temporal character, they think that it does not justify a breach of commands divine, for such breach involves a higher penalty. The truth is, that orthodox society has lost its power of life, it can initiate no reform, nor sympathise with it. Only a religious revival, a revival not of forms, but of sincere earnestness which constitutes true religion, can effect the desired end.”

What is Hinduism ? Let the answer be given in the words of Monier Williams, the Oxford Professor of Sanskrit, who has devoted his life to Indian studies, and who is one of the warmest friends of the Indian people :—

“ It presents for our investigation a complex congeries of creeds and doctrines which in its gradual accumulation may be compared to the gathering together of the mighty volume of the Ganges ; swollen by a continual influx of tributary rivers and rivulets, spreading itself over an ever-increasing area of country, and finally resolving itself into an intricate Delta of tortuous streams and jungly marshes.

“ Nor is it difficult to account for this complexity. The Hindu religion is a reflection of the composite character of the Hindus, who are not one people but many. It is based on the idea of universal receptivity. It has ever aimed at accommodating itself to circumstances, and has carried on the process of adaptation through more than three thousand years. It has first borne with and then, so to speak, swallowed, digested, and assimilated something from all creeds. Or, like a vast hospitable mansion, it has opened its doors to all comers ; it has not refused a welcome to applicants of every grade from the highest to the lowest,

if only willing to acknowledge the spiritual headship of the Brahmans and adopt caste rules.

"In this manner it has held out the right hand of brotherhood to the fetish-worshipping aborigines of India; it has stooped to the demonolatry of various savage tribes; it has not scrupled to encourage the adoration of the fish, the boar, the serpent, trees, plants, stones, and devils; it has permitted a descent to the most degrading cults of the Dravidian races; while at the same time it has ventured to rise from the most grovelling practices to the loftiest heights of philosophical speculation; it has not hesitated to drink in thoughts from the very fountain of Truth, and owes not a little to Christianity itself."*

As the result of this, "Hinduism bristles on all sides with contradictions, inconsistencies, and surprises." This admission is made by Hindu books themselves. The *Mahábhárat* says of Hinduism:

"Contradictory are the Vedas; contradictory are the Shastras; contradictory all the doctrines of the holy sages."

Sir Alfred Lyall, in *The Fortnightly*, says of the Hindus:—

"Among most of those millions the religious conception has not yet reached that particular stage at which one object of divine Government is understood to be the advancement of morals. On the other hand, there is a considerable minority whose ideas have passed beyond this stage, and who conceive their Divinity as supremely indifferent to all things, material as well as moral."

Bishop Caldwell says:—

"The duties of life are never inculcated in any Hindu temple. The discharge of those duties is never represented as enjoined by the gods, nor are any prayers even offered in any temple for help to enable the worshippers to discharge those duties aright. . . . Hence we often see religion going in one direction and morality in another. We meet with a moral Hindu who has broken altogether away from religion; and what is still more common, yet still more extraordinary, we meet with a devout Hindu who lives a flagrantly immoral life. In the latter case no person sees any inconsistency between the immorality and the devoutness."†

Educated Hindus are so much accustomed to idolatry that many think of it lightly, apologise for it, or even take part in its observances. Monier Williams, thus describes the effect produced upon himself by a Hindu festival in the Madras Presidency:—

"No sight in India made me more sick at heart than this. It furnished a sad example of the utterly debasing character of the idolatry, which, notwithstanding the counteracting influences of education and Christianity, still enslaves the masses of the population, deadening their intellects, corrupting their imaginations, warping their affections, perverting their consciences, and disfiguring the fair soil of a beautiful country with hideous images and practices unsanctioned even by their own most sacred works."‡

* *Religious Thought in India*, pp. 57, 58. † *Christianity and Hinduism*, pp. 30, 31.

‡ *Religious Thought in India*, p. 443.

The Aryan races once lived together in the high lands of Central Asia. Some bands went towards the setting sun, and peopled Europe. Others went eastward, and spread themselves over the fertile plains of Northern India.

When Christianity was first preached in Europe, the Western Aryans were polytheists, as the Eastern Aryans are at present. Popular Hinduism claims 33 crores of gods and goddesses—more than one for every man, woman and child in the country. In Athens, it was said to be easier to find a god than a man. As a Hindu adulterer might quote a divine precedent, so a European polytheist might adduce the example of the highest of the gods.

When Paul, the great apostle of Christianity, first went to Rome, he was told that the sect to which he belonged was "everywhere spoken against." The whole force of the Roman Empire, then the greatest in the world, was exerted to crush the movement. Paul himself was put to death by Nero, and persecution followed persecution. All was in vain. "The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church."

Julian, the last heathen Emperor, while he dismissed Christians from the public service and forbade them even to act as teachers, directed his chief efforts to rehabilitate the old polytheism. Its symbols and fables were spiritualised or explained away. The attempt of Julian is interesting, as it represents a phase of the religious history of India now passing before our eyes. Sir Arthur Lyall says in his *Asiatic Studies* :—

"It is not easy to conceive any more interesting subject for historical speculation than the probable effect upon India, and consequently upon the civilisation of all Asia, of the English dominion; for though it would be most presumptuous to attempt any prediction as to the nature or bent of India's religious future, yet we may look forward to a wide and rapid transformation in two or three generations, if England's rule only be as durable as it has every appearance of being. It seems possible that the old gods of Hinduism will die in these new elements of intellectual light and air as quickly as a netfull of fish lifted up out of the water; that the alteration in the religious needs of such an intellectual people as the Hindus, which will have been caused by a change in their circumstances, will make it impossible for them to find in their new world a place for their ancient deities. Their primitive forms will fade and disappear silently, as witchcraft vanished from Europe, and as all such delusions become gradually extinguished." pp. 299, 300.

An effort is now being made to prevent the "old gods of Hinduism" from dying in the "new elements of intellectual light and air." The leading Bengali novelist is trying to do this even in the case of Krishna. There are "New Hinduisms" as well as a "New India."

Other historical parallels might be mentioned. The Roman

Empire afforded great facilities for the spread of Christianity. A single government prevented national wars, which would have rendered impossible the free and frequent passage of Missionaries from one country to another. The Roman highways were travelled by preachers of the Gospel. The Greek language was more or less known to all the countries washed by the Mediterranean. The cosmopolitan feeling, from the great extent of the Roman Empire, was some preparation for the universal spiritual kingdom which was sought to be established.

India is thus being similarly prepared for the spread of Christianity. Formerly the country was divided into numerous states, frequently at war with one another, preventing free communication. Now all can travel without hindrance from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Roads, railways and steam vessels, afford facilities for moving about, never possessed before. The English language is tending powerfully to weld together educated men of different nationalities. Instead of the various races regarding each other with mutual jealousy, ideas of the "brotherhood of man" are gradually being diffused, hastening on the time when all shall be one body in Christ.

Hindus, in the search after religious truth, will naturally first turn to the Vedas, and it is very desirable that they should have some acquaintance with them. Max Müller's opinion of them has been quoted at page 10.

The religion of the Vedas is a worship of the powers and forces of nature, with some beautiful poetic fancies. The number of divinities is repeatedly said to be thrice-eleven. Their relationship is not settled. The god who, in one hymn, is the father, is in another the son; the same goddess is sometimes the mother, sometimes the wife. Almost every god becomes supreme in turn.

More hymns are addressed to Agni, Fire, than to any other deity. Indra comes next. He is so fond of the intoxicating soma juice that "his inebriety is most intense." Another characteristic is that "he dances with delight in battle."

Ghee, curdled milk, rice cakes, and the soma juice were presented. The *Ashvamedha* was the most celebrated sacrifice. The Aryans sacrificed, besides, to Indra and Agni bulls, buffaloes, cows, and rams. In one passage Púshan has a hundred buffaloes roasted for Indra, for whom Agni again roasts as many as three hundred. *Rig Veda*, v. 27, 5; x. 86, 14. Cows were slaughtered at nuptial ceremonies. *Rig Veda*, x. 85, 13.*

Buddhism led to the cessation of sacrifices. The edict of the Buddhist Asoka against taking animal life is still preserved in

* Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 35.

some of the rock inscriptions of India. Brahmans try to explain away the sacrifices mentioned in the Vedas by the fiction that the animals were restored to life or went to heaven.

There are here and there beautiful passages in the Rig-Veda, like the address to Varuna so often quoted; but the majority of the thousand hymns consist of endless repetitions and the same images, applied first to one and then to another of the objects of adoration. In many of them, says Barth, "all that is said to the gods amounts to this, 'Here is butter; give us cows.'"

The Vedas are not monotheistic. Intelligent men cannot go back to the gods of the Vedas, to Indra, Agni, Surya, &c. They cannot offer the prayers of the Vedas. They need something more than cows and horses, health and wealth, the destruction of public and domestic enemies. They cannot make the offerings of the Vedas; they cannot present the soma juice, sacrifice buffaloes, bullocks, cows and sheep; they cannot perform the *Ashvamedha*. They must go elsewhere for a religion which will satisfy the wants of their soul.

The Arya Samaj has been established in North India and the Punjab with the express object of restoring the faith and practice of Hindus to the Vedic system. It is curious that it should have rejected sacrifice, the chief doctrine of the Vedas, and accepted transmigration, of which Max Müller says the Vedas do not contain a "trace." A single quotation will show the importance attached to sacrifice in the Vedas. The Rig Veda, i. 164, 35, says, "Sacrifice is the navel of the world." The doctrines of the Arya Samaj are properly Buddhistic. It has often been said that if the Vedic Aryans were to reappear and act before their descendants their former life, they would be regarded with horror as a most impure and irreligious people. They ate even the flesh of cows!

It is scarcely necessary to notice the *advaita* doctrine. Probably no reader of these pages aspires to use the blasphemous expression, *Aham Brahma*, I am God.

Some account may be given of the *Bhagavad Gita*, considered the "highest flight of philosophical Hinduism." The style is elegant and flowing; it abounds in subtle distinctions and ingenious paradoxes; here and there noble sentiments are to be found expressed in beautiful language. But the question we have to decide is, whether the claim for the inspiration of the Gita is warranted by the essential characteristics of its teaching? The bulk of this episode of the Mahābhārata consists of lectures supposed to have been delivered to Arjuna by Krishna before the commencement of the battle.

Arjuna saw in both armies "fathers and grandfathers, preceptors, maternal uncles, brothers, sons, grandsons, companions,

brothers-in-law, as well as friends." "These," said he, "I do not wish to kill, though they kill me, even for the sake of sovereignty over the three worlds, how much less then for this earth alone!" *

The scruples of Arjuna must commend themselves to every right-minded person ; but the divine Krishna says, "Cast off this base weakness of heart. You need not feel any reluctance to kill your relations, for they cannot really die. The soul can neither kill nor be killed. It knows neither pain nor death, every thing that is born dies, and every thing that dies is born again. The wise therefore do not grieve about either the dead or the living, nor do they allow themselves to be disturbed by anything that comes to pass." Is this teaching in accordance with our moral intuitions, and fitted to promote the good of mankind ? Suppose this doctrine to be acted upon in the concerns of daily life.

A man accused of murder neither denies his guilt nor pleads that he committed the act in self-defence ; but addresses the court in the language of Krishna : "It is needless," he says, "to trouble yourself about the inquiry any further, for it is impossible that any murder can have taken place. The soul can neither kill, nor be killed. It is eternal and indestructible. When driven from one body it passes into another. Death is inevitable, and another birth is equally inevitable." Would the judges regard this defence as conclusive ? The criminal might borrow from the *Gita* as many sounding nothings as he liked, but the moral sense of the community would continue to regard his murder as a crime.

Caste receives divine sanction, and Arjuna is told that there is nothing better for a Kshatriya than to fight.

According to the *Gita*, God is the soul of the world ; its material cause, as well as its efficient cause. The world is his body, formed by himself out of himself. Every thing that exists is a portion of God, and every action that is performed is an action of God.

Next to its doctrine concerning God, the most distinguishing principle taught in the *Gita* is the supreme importance of quietism. To the wise man, according to the *Gita*, pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, are the same. He is of the same mind to the good and to the bad. He is free from desire and aversion, hope and fear, unconcerned about the issue of his actions.

To attain this exalted state, protracted bodily stillness is necessary, fixity of look, the repetition of certain formulæ, meditations on the unfathomable mysteries contained in *om*, suppression of the breath, and at last meditation without an object at all. "Conscientiously observed," says Barth, "they can only issue in folly and idiocy."

What has this philosophy done for India, the land of its birth? Has it promoted popular education, civilization and good government? Has it inspired the people with generous emotions? Has it abolished caste or even mitigated its evils? Has it obtained for widows the liberty of re-marriage? Has it repressed vice and encouraged virtue? Is it this which has kindled among the inhabitants of India the spirit of improvement and enterprise which is now apparent? All this time the philosophy of quietism has been sound asleep, or with "its eyes fixed on the point of its nose," according to the directions of the *Gita*, it has been thinking itself out of its wits.*

The following remarks by Bishop Caldwell contain much truth :—

"Practically it matters very little in general what theosophy or philosophy a Hindu professes, what his ideas may be about the most ancient form of his religion, or even what his ideas may be about the religious reforms that the age is said to require. As a matter of fact, and in so far as his actual course in life is concerned, he is content, except in a small number of exceptional cases, to adhere with scrupulous care to the traditional usages of his caste and sect. His ideas may have received a tincture from his English education, but ordinarily his actions differ in no particular of any importance from those of his progenitors."

"Hence, if we wish to form an accurate estimate of Hinduism as a religion, we must found our judgment not merely on the statements contained in the sacred books—still less on the teaching of the better portion of these books alone—but mainly on the forms in which it manifests itself in daily life amongst the masses and the tone of mind and style of character it produces. We must judge it by its fruits. Judging of Hinduism in this way, the conclusion to be deduced from the actual facts of the case is, that it has either originated or aggravated many of the worst evils the country endures—especially its ignorance, its superstition, its dreaminess, its slavery to the authority of great names; that it is one of the chief obstacles that exist to progress of every kind—intellectual, moral, and even material."

A few of the varied forms of "freethought," now offered for acceptance in India, may be briefly noticed.

Atheism.—In the English language, *God* means "the Supreme intelligent Being." Mere force or any unconscious power cannot be called God. Not long ago, a well-known Native gentleman in Madras asked whether the religion professed by Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky acknowledged "the existence of one eternal first cause of the universe *which is cognizant of its own existence*?" The President-Founder declined to reply,† but his opinions may be

* The remarks on the *Bhagavad Gita* are chiefly abridged from Bishop Caldwell.

† *The Theosophist*, Dec. 1885, p. 207.

gathered from other sources. A Catechism which he compiled for his co-religionists in Ceylon, says :—

“A personal god Buddhists regard as only a gigantic shadow thrown upon the void of space by the imagination of ignorant men.” No. 112.

The Theosophist says in a note, marked “ED.” “Buddha rejected the very idea of a God, whether *personal* or *impersonal*.”* In reviewing *The Theosophical Society*, by the Rev. A. Theophilus, the confession is made: “Now we desire the reader to properly understand that personally we do not at all deny the charge of atheism, the word being used in an orthodox theistic sense.” (Sept. 1882.)

Elsewhere it is said that Madame Blavatsky believes “in an impersonal divine Principle for ever unknowable except in its identification with, and manifestation within, its highest tabernacle on this earth—namely man.”† Another lucid explanation is: “The Founders maintain that they *do* believe in the very Divine PRINCIPLE taught in the Vedas; in that *Principle* which is ‘neither entity nor non-entity,’ but an ABSTRACT ENTITY, which is *no* entity, liable to be described by either words or attributes.”‡ This is virtual atheism.

The “freethought” lectures of Ingersoll have some circulation in India. The utter levity with which he treats the most serious questions shows that he is a most unsafe guide. Robert Buchanan, a well known English writer, says of him: “Ingersoll enters the temples of religion with his hat on one side, a cigar in his mouth, and a jest upon his lips...He is the boy in the gallery, cracking nuts and making precocious comments during the performance of the tragedy of life; blind to the splendor of the scenery, deaf to the beauty of the dialogue, indifferent to the pathetic or tragic solicitations of the players;...everything is leather-and-prunella except the performance of Harlequin.”

Ingersoll himself acknowledges that “for thousands of years the world has been asking that question, ‘what shall we do to be saved?’” In the report of his lecture on this subject, there are 27 notes of “laughter,” “loud laughter,” and “roars of laughter.” “Clowns and mockers,” says Dr. Parker, “are never consulted on great occasions; and for myself I must decline the aid of any man who answers the gravest questions of my heart with gibes and sneers, with puns and quirks.”

Two or three “freethought” journals have been commenced by Natives in India; but it is satisfactory that all have had to give them up from want of support. The only paper of the kind at present published is edited by an English secularist.

* Supplement to *The Theosophist*, May 1882.

† *Ibid.*, October, 1883. ‡ *Ibid.*, June 1882.

The irreverence and scurrility which pervade "freethought" journals render them of no weight among educated men.

The most pernicious literature which finds its way to India is that which, in the pretended name of science, combines freethought and free love. Marriage is denounced on account of its "innumerable evils and injustices;" prostitution is defended; self-denial with regard to the appetites and passions "so far from being at all times a virtue, is quite as often a vice." It is to be regretted that books of this class are read by young men in the three Presidencies. All lovers of their country, whatever may be their creed, should unite for their suppression. Low immoral novels should also be discouraged.

Agnosticism.—Foster has shown that to deny the existence of God, requires the assertor to be at once omnipresent and omniscient. Unbelievers, of intelligence, now profess only *agnosticism*. This word (from *a*, without, and *gnōsis*, knowledge) implies with some that no proof has been hitherto adduced sufficient to warrant their belief in the existence of God. *Practically*, they are atheists. They live as if there was no God, and *didn't care* whether there was one or not. Generally, however, agnosticism denotes the belief that God is *unknowable*, and therefore we need not trouble ourselves about Him.

It is admitted that God is *Unknowable* to us in His *Essence*, or the nature of His being. Our own essence is incomprehensible even to ourselves. But God is *knowable*, to some extent, in His *character*, and our *duty to Him*.

The sovereignty of a mighty empire, pre-eminent for wisdom, may have a child two years old. Though the child is incapable of understanding his father's government, he can know him, love him, and obey him as far as his faculties permit. So may we with God.

As has been well remarked, "The real contention of the agnostics, however it may be disguised, is that *any* knowledge of God is impossible, and that there is nothing in heaven or earth unknown to their philosophy." They think that no one can acquire any knowledge which they do not possess. And not only so. They practically claim to have measured the power of the *Unknowable*. Even savages may communicate with each other, but according to the agnostics, the Unknowable cannot reveal His will to man. Herbert Spencer says, "The existence of a first cause of the universe is a necessity of thought."

Positivism.—Comte, the founder of this system, has so few followers in India, that it is unnecessary to enter into details. He sets up Collective Humanity in the place of God. Substantially it is *Aham Brahma, I am God*, in a new form. No wonder that a pessimistic tone pervades *New India*, a book by one of Comte's disciples. "A world without God is a world without hope."

The Oldest Aryan Religion.—Max Müller says :—

“Thousands of years ago, before Greek was Greek, and Sanskrit was Sanskrit, the ancestors of the Aryan races dwelt together in the high lands of Central Asia, speaking one common language.

“The terms for God, for house, for father, mother, son and daughter, for dog and cow, for heart and tears, for axe and tree, identical in all the Indo-European idioms, are like the watch-words of soldiers. We challenge the seeming stranger; and whether he answer with the lips of a Greek, a German, or an Indian, we recognise him as one of ourselves. There was a time when the ancestors of the Celts, the Germans, the Slavonians, the Greeks and Italians, the Persians and Hindus, were living together within the same fences, separate from the ancestors of the Semitic and Turanian races.

“The Aryans were then no longer dwellers in tents, but builders of permanent houses. As the name for king is the same in Sanskrit, Latin, Teutonic, and Celtic, we know that kingly government was established and recognised by the Aryans at the prehistoric period. They also worshipped an unseen Being, under the self-same name.”*

“If I were asked what I consider the most important discovery which has been made during the nineteenth century with respect to the ancient history of mankind, I should answer by the following short line :

Sanskrit DYAUSH-PITAR=Greek ZETΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ (ZEUS PATER)
=Latin JUPITER= Old Norse TYR.

“Think what this equation implies! It implies not only that our own ancestors and the ancestors of Homer and Cicero (the Greeks and Romans) spoke the same language as the people of India—this is a discovery which, however incredible it sounded at first, has long ceased to cause any surprise—but it implies and proves that they all had once the same faith, and worshipped for a time the same supreme Deity under exactly the same name—a name which meant Heaven-Father.

“If we wish to realise to its fullest extent the unbroken continuity in the language, in the thoughts and words of the principal Aryan nations, let us look at the accents in the following list :—

	Sanskrit.	Greek.
<i>Nom.</i>	Dyaús.	Zeús
<i>Gen.</i>	Divás.	Διός
<i>Loc.</i>	Diví.	Δί
<i>Acc.</i>	Dívam.	Δία
<i>Voc.</i>	Dyañs.	Zeû

“Here we see that at the time when the Greeks had become such thorough Greeks that they hardly knew of the existence of India, the people at Athens laid the accent in the oblique cases of Zeus on exactly the same syllable on which the Brahmans laid it at Benares, with this difference only, that the Brahmans knew the reason why, while the Athenians did not.”†

* *Ancient Sanskrit Literature.*

† *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1885, pp. 626, 627.

"There is a monotheism which precedes the polytheism of the Veda, and even in the invocation of their innumerable gods, the remembrance of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the midst of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds."

"Thousands of years have passed since the Aryan nations separated to travel to the North and the South, the West and the East: they have each formed their languages, they have each founded empires and philosophies, they have each built temples and razed them to the ground; they have all grown older, and it may be wiser and better; but when they search for a name for what is most exalted and yet most dear to every one of us, when they wish to express both awe and love, the infinite and finite, they can but do what their old fathers did when gazing up the eternal sky, and feeling the presence of a Being as far as far and as near as near can be: they can but combine the selfsame words, and utter once more the primeval Aryan prayer, Heaven-Father, in that form which will endure for ever, 'Our Father which art in heaven.' *

In Europe, as in India, the original Aryan monotheism was succeeded by polytheism. The first Christian Missionary to Europe was an Asiatic, named Paul. The following is an extract from his first address to the Athenians, then the most civilised people in the world:—

"As I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore you ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that He is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though He needed any thing, seeing He giveth to all life and breath and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitations; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us: for in Him we live and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, for we are also His offspring. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device. And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent." †

The following are some of the truths taught by Paul in the above address:

1. The existence of a great Creator and Lord of all, who dwells not in temples made with hands.
2. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.
3. The disapproval of image worship.
4. The duty of repentance.

After a struggle which lasted for several centuries and during which hundreds of thousands of Christian converts gave up their

* *Science of Religion*, pp. 172, 173. † *Acts* xvii, 23-30.

lives rather than conform to idolatry, the polytheism of ancient Europe was completely vanquished. "At this moment there is not on the face of the earth a single worshipper of 'the great goddess Diana,' 'or the image that fell down from Jupiter,' of Thor or Wodin."

The Worship of the Heaven-Father in India.—Ancient monotheism was at an early period exchanged for dualism. *Prithivi*, the earth, is associated in the Vedas with Dyaus Pitar. The gods were afterwards increased to thrice-eleven, multiplied in the Puranas to 33 crores.

The religion which is now commended to the people of India is the oldest Aryan creed—the worship of the great Heaven-Father.

In one of the hymns of the Rig Veda, the question is asked, "Who is the God we ought to worship?"

"Immortal EAST! dear land of glorious lays,
Lo! here the 'UNKNOWN GOD' of thy unconscious praise."

The God we ought to worship is our Father in heaven, the true Dyaus Pitar.

It is our *duty* to worship God. He has every claim upon us. "His breath woke us first into existence. Whatever powers of body or of mind we possess, all are His and of Him. Nothing pertaining to us can we properly call our own. From the first moment of existence to the last, we exercise no faculty of thought or feeling or action, which He has not given us, and which he does not rightly claim as belonging to Himself. The very power to *disobey* is a power which He has Himself conferred."

The nature of God's requirements is a further argument for obedience. His commands are not arbitrary, but "holy, just, and good." He enjoins only that which is best for ourselves; He forbids only that which it is our highest wisdom to shun. Our duty and our happiness coincide.

The worship of any other than Himself is forbidden. This is with respect to the government of God what rebellion is with respect to civil government. A rightful king claims the obedience of his subjects, and an attempt to set up another in his place is counted treason and is punished with death.

God forbids us to worship Him under the form of images. Anything of the kind is degrading to Him. "To whom will ye liken me or shall I be equal? saith the Holy One."

The excuse that women and ignorant people require images to assist them in worshipping God is groundless. A loving child does not require an image to make him remember his father, even when he is far distant.

Many educated Hindus take part in idolatrous rites, pretending that they are harmless customs, kept up by female influence, and that they conform to them simply to avoid giving offence.

The desire to please parents and relatives within proper limits is a praiseworthy feeling ; but to break God's first and great command at the wish of any human being is a plea which cannot be sustained for a moment. Suppose a parallel case. Parents urge a son to take part in a robbery ; they will be vexed if he does not consent. Would a judge accept such an excuse ? Would it be true kindness to his parents to join them in such an act ? Is he not rather bound, not only to abstain entirely from any participation in the crime, but to do his utmost to dissuade his parents from engaging in it ? It would be great cruelty to behave otherwise.

An educated Hindu taking part in idolatrous ceremonies violates his conscience, is guilty of rebellion against God's authority, and is aiding to prolong the reign of superstition.

Some say that they worship the one true God under the name of Vishnu or Siva. In speaking we are bound to use words in their ordinary sense. It is well-known what Hindus understand by Vishnu or Siva, and to mean something entirely different is fraud. The God of truth is not to be worshipped by hypocrisy. A man is not to deny God by *appearing* a Hindu, when he believes Hinduism to be false.

Philosophers among the ancient Greeks and Romans condemned polytheism, but they outwardly conformed to the national creed. The people remained as zealous idolaters as ever. The early Christians separated themselves entirely ; and soon the idol temples were deserted. Reformation is impossible if all adhere to old customs.

Women are the chief supporters of idolatry in India. Poor creatures they do not know better. Those who are mainly responsible for it and to be blamed are the educated men, who by their example encourage them in error. The women of India are naturally both intelligent and affectionate. If their husbands, instead of behaving as at present, would lovingly teach them to worship their great Father in heaven instead of idols, the reign of superstition would soon come to an end. The change is so reasonable as easily to be understood. It is so simple that it may be made intelligible even to a child.

It is vain to boast of the pretended civilization of a country with 33 crores of gods and goddesses. All that can be truly said of its people is that they rank higher than the fetish worshippers of Africa.

The primeval Aryan creed, the Sadharana Brahma Samaj, and Christianity all teach the Fatherhood of God. The disciples of Jesus Christ, according to His command, address God as "Our Father in heaven."

A remark or two may be offered with regard to the "New Dispensation," or "New Hinduism," of the late Babu Keshub Chander Sen.

He began with simple Theism, learned from Theodore Parker, F. W. Newman and the Bible. He ended with a system, a part of whose "Song" is the following:—

"Chanting the name of Hari, the saints dance.

"Moses dances, Jesus dances, with hands uplifted, inebriated with love; and the great *rishi* Narad dances, playing on the lyre.

"The great *yogi* Mahadeo dances in joy; with whom dances John with his disciples.

"Nanak, Prahlad, and Nityanand all dance; and in their midst are Paul and Mahomed." *Sunday Mirror*, March 7th, 1880.

While a young man, he scouted "book-revelations." In his address in 1879, "Am I a Prophet?" while denying it in words, he virtually claimed a kind of direct inspiration. The same year he issued a proclamation from "India's Mother," declaring "from heaven" that the Brahma Samaj was her Church.

The Bible refers to persons who "are prophets of the deceit of their own heart." Keshab himself makes the confession in his "Prayers:" "I have strangely got into the habit, O my God, of crediting Thee with all my plans and ideas." (p. 51). An overwrought brain and a wasting disease, which ultimately carried him off, probably account in part at least for the "eccentricities" which marked his later years.

Keshab Chander Sen made much of the differences among Christians, but by the irony of fate no religious society has perhaps suffered so much from disputes among its members as the "New Dispensation," in spite of its "Apostolical Durbar."

Few intelligent thoughtful Hindus are likely to accept the mongrel system of the "New Dispensation." Their choice must lie between the simple Theism of the Sadharana Brahma Samaj and Christianity.

The Pardon of Sin.—The Brahma Samaj and Christianity differ greatly with regard to this important point. The most momentous inquiry that can agitate the human breast is, How can I, a consciously guilty, sin-polluted being, be delivered from this load of evil, obtain forgiveness, and be restored to the Divine favour?

The doctrine of the Brahma Samaj is as follows:—

"ATONEMENT.

"Every sinner must suffer the consequences of his own sins, sooner or later, in this world or in the next; for the moral law is unchangeable and God's justice is irreversible. His mercy also must have its way. As the just King He visits the soul with adequate agonies, and when the sinner, after being thus chastised, mournfully prays, He, as the merciful Father, delivers and accepts him and becomes reconciled to him. Such reconciliation is the only true atonement." *Principles*, p. 7.

"The ordinary Hindu," says Williams, "wholly rejects the

notion of trusting to anything for salvation but his own self-righteousness." It is true that God is acknowledged to be merciful, but He only shows mercy to those who deserve it by their actions. Practically this is the doctrine of Brahminism, as it is of every non-Christian religion. Proud man wishes salvation by works. "What must I *do* to be saved? is his question. The doctrine of salvation by grace is so repulsive to the natural heart, that it is not accepted till it is seen to be the only means of escape.

According to Brahminism, as a man is to merit heaven by his own good works, so is he to endure "adequate agonies" on account of his sins.

What are "adequate agonies"? Most men have no deep sense of sin. Hindus are especially apt to fall into this error. Their own gods are sometimes said to commit sin *in sport*. Its guilt, it is supposed, may be washed away by bathing in the Ganges. Notorious profligates have been known to comfort themselves in their last moments with the thought that they had only been guilty of a few frailties, which God in His mercy would overlook. So common is this that the Bible says of the wicked "There are no bands in their death,"—they die unconcerned about the future. But the case is very different with men whose conscience has not been seared by a long course of transgression, but is tender.

What is *sin*? God claims to be supreme over the world which He has Himself created; it is essential to the welfare of the universe that He should be supreme. Every sin is a defiance of His authority, a declaration on the part of the sinner, that he will not have God to reign over him. "All the guilt that lies in foul rebellion against the mildest and most merciful of earthly monarchs—in disobeying the kindest, and grieving the best of fathers—in ingratitude to a generous benefactor—...; all that evil, multiplied a thousand and a thousand times, there is in sin."

Suppose a man committed theft, the value of the article stolen has not simply to be considered. The evil is that if theft did not involve a penalty, no man's property would be safe. It is the same with sin. A single violation of God's law with impunity, would tend to spread rebellion through the universe.

Brahminism might suffice if we had never *sinned*. In his last moments a Brahminist may well take up the exclamation of a dying heathen philosopher, "In great alarm, I depart."

There is also another very grave consideration. The effect of punishment is usually different from that attributed to it by Brahminism. Dr. Norman Macleod says:—

"Men attach, perhaps, some omnipotent power to mere suffering, and imagine that if hatred to sin and love to God are all that is needed, then a short experience of the terrific consequences of a godless past must ensure a godly future. Why do they think so? This is not the effect

which mere punishment generally produces on human character. Its tendency is not to soften, but to harden the heart,—to fill it not with love, but with enmity.”

Vedic Hinduism is nearer Christianity, as far as atonement is concerned, than Brahminism. Christianity teaches that man was created holy and happy. The Krita Yuga, the age of truth, is a tradition to the same effect. The fall of man is also virtually recognized in the Kali Yuga. “The deep sense of this fact,” writes Coleridge, “and the doctrines grounded on obscure traditions of the promised remedy, are seen struggling, and now gleaming, now flashing, through the mist of pantheism, and producing the incongruities and gross contradictions of the Brahman mythology.”

“No thoughtful student of the past records of man,” says Trench, “can refuse to acknowledge that through all its history there has run the hope of a redemption from the evil which oppresses it; and as little can deny that this hope has continually attached itself to some single man. The help that is coming to the world, it has seen incorporated in a person. The generations of men, weak and helpless in themselves, have evermore been looking after ONE in whom they may find all they look for vainly in themselves and in those around them.”

The Hindu ideas with regard to incarnations, though defective in many respects, recognise, says Hardwick, the idea of God descending to the level of the fallen creature and becoming man to lighten the burden of pain and misery under which the universe is groaning. They show a struggling to become conscious of the personality of God, and a panting for complete communion with Him.

In the early ages of the world, people were very much like children. It is not known when writing was invented, but even for many centuries after books were in existence, very few could read. Teaching through something that could be seen was therefore necessary.

The feeling is universal that man is a sinner, and that sin deserves punishment. Hence sacrifices have existed during all ages, and among all nations. The idea that pervades sacrifice is *substitution*. The offerer sometimes laid his hand on the head of the victim, saying, “I give thee this life instead of mine.” He acknowledged his guilt; but hoped that God would accept the sacrifice in his stead.

Sacrifices prevailed largely among the old Aryans. “The most prominent feature of the Vedic religion,” says the Rev. K. S. Macdonald, “is its sacrifices. Scarcely a hymn is found in which sacrifice is not alluded to. The very first verse of the very first hymn runs; ‘I glorify Agni, the *purohit* of the sacrifice.’” Another hymn says, “Do thou lead us safe through all sins by the way of

sacrifice." The *Tandya Maha Brahmana* of the *Sama Veda* says of sacrifice, "Whatever sins we have committed, knowing or unknowing, thou art the annulment thereof. Thou art the annulment of sin—of sin." The same *Brahmana* contains the remarkable statement that "Prajapati, the Lord of creatures, offered himself a sacrifice for the benefit of the *devas*."

Sacrifices were appointed to show that sorrow for sin is not enough; that "without shedding of blood there is no remission." But animal sacrifices were only like a shadow of the great sacrifice that was to be offered, and their chief object was to keep it in remembrance. After the death of the Divine Incarnation, they were to cease.

God, as Governor of the universe, cannot pardon the sinner without satisfaction to the Divine law. In His great love to men, He, as it were, proposed that His only Son should become their substitute, and suffer in their stead.

As it was man who had sinned, it was necessary that the Son of God should take upon Him human nature. At the appointed time He became incarnate. He lived on earth for thirty-three years, a period of time equalling the average duration of a human life. He endured all the sorrows which afflict humanity, and so completely accomplished the work He had undertaken, that on the cross He could say, "It is finished."

The Bible describes Jesus Christ as our Representative. It tells us that "He bore our sins in His own body on the tree;" that "the Lord laid on Him the iniquity of us all;" that He "redeemed us from the curse, being made a curse for us." Jesus is one; we are millions: but His Divine nature gave an infinite value to His sacrifice. A single diamond, like the *Koh-i-nur*, is worth more than crores of ordinary pebbles. God can now pardon the sinner who comes to Him, seeking forgiveness on account of his surety.

By sin man had become separated from God, and he fled from His presence. Through the death of Christ, the barrier to reconciliation is removed; God and man may be *at one* again. Hence the expiatory work of Christ is called the *Atonement*.

A very erroneous impression prevails among some Hindus. They think that Christianity represents the Father as angry till propitiated by the Son. On the contrary, the atonement originated in the love of the Father. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son" to be our Saviour. But the Son was equally willing. His response was, "Lo! I come: I delight to do Thy will."

Some think it unjust, that the innocent should suffer instead of the guilty. Newman Hall thus answers this objection:—

"It would indeed be most unrighteous in any earthly ruler, were he to seize an innocent person, and make him suffer the sentence of the law, while the culprit himself was allowed to escape. Supposing, however,

the purposes of law were equally accomplished, by an innocent person *voluntarily* submitting to death on behalf of a large multitude of offenders who must otherwise have died, there would be no departure from justice; neither would any alarm be caused to the innocent, by the expectation of being themselves compelled to suffer for the guilty. But if, by such voluntary transference of suffering, those offenders were also reclaimed and made good citizens,—and if moreover he who became their substitute, were restored to life, and as the result of his mediation, were raised to higher honour than before, not only justice would be satisfied, but benevolence would rejoice. So with the sacrifice of Christ. He the righteous, suffered; that we, the unrighteous, might escape. But the act was voluntary. The suffering of Christ was brief, while His triumph is everlasting.”

The ends of justice are satisfied by the Atonement of Christ. While sin is pardoned, it is shown to be an infinite evil. If God spared not His own Son, when He stood in the room of the guilty, He will not spare sinners when they stand on their own footing.

A Christian humbly acknowledges before God his numberless sins and their aggravated character. He offers no excuse; he pleads no merits of his own. He acknowledges that he deserves to suffer; but he does not hope for forgiveness after enduring “adequate agonies” of his own. He takes refuge in the Divine Saviour, and trusts in Him alone for pardon and salvation.

Boasting is thus entirely excluded, and the spirit of humility is fostered. Love is another feeling awakened. If a person whom we disliked saved our life at the risk of his own, would not the alienation be removed, and gratitude kindled? So it is with the believer in Christ. Formerly he regarded God as an enemy to be feared; now he looks upon Him as his greatest Benefactor. Every thing else will follow in the train of love. There will be unfeigned sorrow for past offences, and an earnest desire to avoid in future every thing displeasing to God.

Some may object that free salvation through Christ will tempt men to sin: they consider punishments and rewards necessary to secure obedience. But true love is the strongest of all motives. A mother watches over her child with far greater care than a slave who fears the lash or a hireling who looks to his pay.

The believer, however, is not left to himself. Jesus Christ uses the illustration “I am the vine, ye are the branches.” Through faith we are united to Christ, like a branch ingrafted upon a tree. We share in His life, and become animated by His spirit.

The absolute necessity of faith may be easily understood. Unless we believe that Jesus is able to save us, we will not go to Him.

Holiness.—The *Indian Mirror*, some years ago, had the following remarks:—

“O limed soul that struggling to be free
Art more engaged!”

"In these words, Shakespeare, ever true to nature, faithfully depicts the condition of the sinner's soul struggling to be delivered from vicious habits. Are we not all conscious of that state of mind in which the more we try to cut through the fetters of sin, the more inextricably are we enchained?"

Man requires more than mere pardon of sin. If a king were to remit the sentences of the criminals in a jail, all the thieves, robbers, murderers, and malefactors of every kind, would be let loose. Would the people, however, be willing to allow them to enter their houses, and mix with them freely? Suppose that the doors, not of our prisons, but of hell itself, were thrown open—which shall never be—but suppose they were, would the gates of heaven open to receive its inmates? No. Over them these words stand inscribed, "There entereth nothing here to hurt or to defile." From their company every spirit of the just would shrink with holy horror. If so, it is plain that it is not enough to be pardoned, to be justified. We require also to be purified from sin.

The need of sanctification has been admitted by thoughtful men in all ages; but the standard aimed at has often been imperfect, and the means employed insufficient. Most people are satisfied if their conduct is free from crime, and they are honest and benevolent. Others attach importance to religious observances. But all this is not enough. The outside of the sepulchre may be whited, while it is still full within of all uncleanness.

Christianity places before men the loftiest standard of holiness, "Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Union with Christ is the channel by which it is to be attained. The agent is the Holy Spirit. The Trinity gloriously unite in man's redemption. The special work of the Holy Spirit is to sanctify us, and fit us for heaven. It is true that various means are prescribed; but it is He who gives efficacy to them all.

Of all petitions, the most earnest should be for the gift of the Holy Spirit. Every other blessing follows in its train. The following words may express the feeling which should be cherished:

"More of Thy presence, Lord, impart;
More of Thine image let me bear;
Erect Thy throne within my heart,
And reign without a rival there."

The Trinity.—A few remarks may be offered on this doctrine of Christianity, which is often misunderstood.

The Bible most emphatically asserts the Divine Unity. "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord;" "The Lord is God, and there is none else;" "God is one." At the same time, we learn from the Scriptures, that, in the Godhead, there are three Persons of equal eternity, power, and majesty, called Father, Son, and Holy

Ghost. This union of three in one is called the *Trinity*, though the term itself does not occur in the Bible.

There may seem to be a contradiction in saying that God is one and yet three. It may be asked, how can one be three and three one? This objection might be valid if the terms were understood in the same sense in each case. But an illustration will show that a living being may be one in one sense and three in another. Man is a unit, yet he consists of body, soul, and spirit. While the comparison is by no means parallel, and can, in no degree, assist us in comprehending the Trinity, it shows that it does not involve any contradiction.

Again, it should be understood that when Jesus Christ is called the Son of God, the meaning is not that He is a Son born in the ordinary way. The supposition were blasphemy. "It must be evident," says Archdeacon Pratt, "that the language is figurative, and that that part only of the figure is used (as is always the case in using emblems) which is suitable to the occasion."

Dr. Jardine has the following remarks on this subject :

"Christ, before He left His disciples, commissioned them to 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' thus apparently implying that the Divine nature from which men were to draw their spiritual life and nourishment is three-fold. And accordingly the Christian Church has from the beginning ascribed divine honours and a divine name equally to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

"But we are sure that nothing merely human can offer an adequate or complete analogy to the divine ; and consequently when we are told that there are a Father, and a Son, and a Holy Spirit who from all eternity have been together, and have exercised special functions in the creation, preservation, and salvation of the material and moral universe, we are to think, not that we know the absolute and complete truth, but that the truth has been presented to us in such a form that we can understand as much of it as is needful for us at present....However, enough has been revealed regarding the wonderful love of the Divine Being, and the ways of His working in the universe, and especially the great work of the Son and Spirit in effecting human salvation, to inspire us with confidence in the Saviour and fill our minds with wonder, love and praise."*

Prospects of Christianity.—Infidels seek to give educated Hindus the impression that Christianity is doomed to perish like Hinduism. Christians have long been accustomed to hear such predictions. In the seventeenth century Voltaire was the cleverest man in Europe. He boasted that it had taken twelve men to set up Christianity, but he would show that a single man was enough to overthrow it. He ventured, too, on a prophecy. He said that in a hundred years the Bible would be a forgotten book. Colonel

* *What to Believe*, pp. 194-196.

Olcott, before he came to India, wrote out that Madame Blavatsky was to "tear Christianity to tatters." So far from Christianity being in a dying condition, it was never more vigorous than at present. The increasing number of missionaries in India from nearly every country in Europe, from the United States and Canada, is a visible proof of this. Instead of the Bible being a forgotten book, in 1884 the British and Foreign Bible Society issued in whole or in part upwards of four million copies. A revised translation of the English Bible was lately printed. The copies prepared by the Oxford University Press alone, if piled flat one upon another, would make a column more than fourteen miles high and every one of them was sold. Madame Blavatsky has only "torn to tatters" her own reputation.

"Never did infidelity," says Rogers, "choose a more luckless moment for uttering its prediction, that poor Christianity is about to die; never was there a moment when its disciples could more confidently repeat the invocation of the sublimest genius that ever consecrated itself to sacred song, when, celebrating the events of his time, he (Milton) 'snatched up an ungarnished present of thank offering' before he took his 'harp, and sang his elaborate song to generations: 'Come forth, from thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth; put on the visible robes of thy imperial majesty; take up that unlimited sceptre which thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed thee; for now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed!'"

At the banquet given by the National Liberal Club in London, in honour of Lord Ripon, Mr. Bright, the well-known friend of India, gave expression to the following views:—

"Well, if the English language is being spoken so widely over India; if the English literature is being read and studied; if the science of this country and of western nations becomes the science of the people of India, what must be the result? Before that force there must fall certain things. There must fall the system of caste, and there must fall the system of a debasing idolatry. These things cannot stand against the literature which is now being freely read and studied by multitudes of the most intelligent people of India."

Milton says, "Let Truth and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worst in free and open encounter."

It is a pseudo-patriotism which rejects Christianity under the pretence that it is not Indian. The greatest Dravidian poet says, "The disease that is born with us kills us; the medicine which is found on some far-off mountain cures our natal disease."

The foregoing remarks on the subject of religion are necessarily brief. The reader is urged to give it his most earnest consideration. It is of infinitely greater importance than politics or any question of social reform. These concerns only our brief life here; religion has to do with eternity.

The Search after Religious Truth.—All truth is valuable in its place; but right belief is of importance in proportion to the great-

ness of the object to which it relates. Of all truth, religious truth is, therefore, of the utmost consequence. Some remarks may be made as to the best means of arriving at it.

Frame of Mind Necessary.—All moral truth requires as a condition of its acceptance a moral state in a measure at least sympathetic with it. You can compel the assent of every one, who has sufficient intelligence, to any one of Euclid's propositions. But you cannot so show the beauty of charity to the miser, or the superiority of virtue to sensual indulgence to one who lives only to gratify lust. Where moral truth is presented, the mind must be at least willing to hear, to reflect seriously, to consider candidly what arguments may be brought; it must not be committed against a conclusion, but be willing to receive that which is supported by reason. "Atheism," says Plato, "is a disease of the soul before it becomes an error of the understanding." The deepest objections to Christianity arise from the pride and self-righteousness, the lust and worldliness of human nature, even where the intellect and conscience may be so far subdued.

Evidence to be Expected.—Mathematical demonstration is confined to a limited class of subjects. In the practical affairs of life no man looks for it. Still less can it be expected in the invisible things of God.

The late Lord Hobart remarks, "In numerous instances Truth is only to be attained by comparing and balancing the considerations appertaining to different sides." Butler shows in his *Analogy of Religion* that "to us probability is the very guide of life." The farmer sows with the *probability* only that he will reap. The scholar toils with the probability, often a slender one, that his days will be prolonged, and success crown his labours in subsequent life. We are under obligation to use the best light we have, even though that should be dim and unsatisfactory in some respects. "Now we see through a glass darkly."

Atheists bring forward objections against the existence of God; theists consider that the counterbalancing arguments have much greater weight. It is the same with Christianity. There is nothing deep without mystery. Sir William Hamilton remarks, "No difficulty emerges in Theology which had not previously emerged in Philosophy."

J. S. Mill says, "The Christian religion is open to no objections, either moral or intellectual, which do not apply at least equally to the common theory of Deism."

The advocates of freethought circulate among Hindus tracts on alleged contradictions of the Bible. They may be new to those to whom they are presented; but, with few exceptions, they are the same as were urged by the opponents of Christianity as early as the second century. Cowper says,

"The infidel has shot his bolts away,
Till his exhausted quiver yielding none,
He gleans the blunted shafts that have recoiled,
And aims them at the shield of Truth again."

Earnestness.—Some men are wholly indifferent to religion. The folly of such conduct is thus shown by Pascal, a distinguished French writer:—

"I know not who has sent me into the world, nor what the world is, nor what I myself am. All that I know is that I must soon die, but what I know least of all is this death which I cannot escape.

"As I know not whence I come, so neither know I whither I go. I only know that, on leaving this world, I fall for ever into nothingness, or into the hands of an angry God, without knowing whether of these two conditions is to be my lot for eternity. Behold my state, full of misery, of weakness, of darkness! And from all this I conclude that I am to pass all the days of my life without caring to inquire what is to befall me. Perhaps, I might find some enlightenment in my doubts, but I will not take the trouble, or lift my foot to seek it."

There are some men who, although not quite indifferent to religion, show no earnest spirit of inquiry, and are content to remain perpetual doubters.

Suppose you saw a farmer sitting quietly in his house with folded hands, in the midst of seed-time. You ask him why he is not busy in his fields. The reply is, that he has not yet determined what kind of grain is best adapted to his soil. Suppose you knew a man who all his life was in doubt what profession to choose. You would surely think that these men had lost their senses. But far greater is the folly of the man who is content to remain without settled views about religion.

In a certain sense, the man who is indifferent to religion has made his choice; but it is the broad and easy road, leading to destruction.

Earnestness implies the use of means to arrive at the truth. For this purpose the best and most appropriate works on the subject should be studied.

The chief book should be the New Testament, to be followed by the Old Testament. A Reference Bible with Maps is a great help. One passage of Scripture often throws great light upon another.

Only a few treatises on Christianity have yet been prepared in English for Indian students, and some of them are not now available. On the last page of the cover there is a list of some books which may be read with advantage.

Humility.—One of the besetting sins of the present day is intellectual pride. Such a spirit is very unfavourable to religious inquiry. "A scorner seeketh wisdom and findeth it not." "The meek will God teach his way." Jesus Christ said, "Except ye be

converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." The Bible, however, does not forbid careful examination. The Apostle Paul writes, "I speak as unto wise men ; judge ye what I say." But there must be a humble, teachable spirit.

Prayerfulness.—Dr. Kay, formerly of Calcutta, gave the following advice to intelligent Hindus :—

"You and all your countrymen who are worth listening to on such a subject, acknowledge that spiritual light and the knowledge of God must come from Himself, the one Supreme. The Mussulmans say the same ; and we Christians, above all others, affirm it. Then if you are really in earnest, if you are honest, you see what you must do. You must go and endeavour to pray thus : *O all-wise, all-merciful God and Father, pour the bright beams of Thy light into my soul, and guide me into Thy eternal truth.*"

Acting up to the Light possessed, or Obeying Conscience.—This is a rule of the utmost importance. The life we lead has a great effect upon our belief. Suppose a man wishes to follow the bent of his passions, he will unconsciously try to persuade himself that there is no future state, or at least that he will be dealt with very leniently. Belief may be similarly affected by other feelings, even when persons lead moral lives. Man is naturally proud ; he has an aversion to spiritual truth ; he may therefore fail to see facts which stare him in the face, or he may draw conclusion, which are grossly incorrect. The great Teacher says, "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light because their deeds were evil." "How can ye believe who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which cometh from God only ?"

Some further explanation may be given of what is here urged. You believe that there is only one God. Your conscience tells you that He must be a benevolent, holy Being. You acknowledge Him to be your Father in heaven. If so, He justly claims a father's love and respect. A dutiful child loves an earthly father ; he goes to him with all his wants and difficulties ; he follows his guidance ; he avoids whatever would be displeasing to him. Do you act in this way towards your heavenly Father ? Do you live as in His constant presence ? Do you love to make known your wants to Him in prayer ? Do you seek to please Him in all things ?

The above is a *condition of success* in the search. Without it, all else is vain.

Possible Trials.—Sir William Muir, addressing some Calcutta students, thus warned them of some of the difficulties they would meet in seeking to arrive at religious truth :—

"I am well aware that in the search you will probably have to pass through a land of doubt and darkness. The ancient land-marks to which

you have been used to look up as the beacons that would guide you all your life through, may perhaps vanish from your sight, and you will be left to grope for your way in perplexity and doubt; and yet, I can only wish for all of you that may enter into it, if haply thereby you may emerge into a better light than you now possess.

"To any who may endure this experience, and find themselves enveloped in thick darkness, not knowing where to turn, I would offer two admonitions by way of caution.

"However dark and confused the elements may be about you, hold firmly by those grand principles of morality and virtue which are inculcated upon you here. Under the pretext of liberty, of advanced thought, and of an enlightened faith, the temptation will come to you of latitudinarian Ethics and a lax code of Morals. Reject the temptation; it is but a meretricious blandishment, a Syren smile alluring you to ruin. Reject every proposal that would confound the eternal obligations of Right and Wrong, of Virtue and Vice: use hardness as good soldiers: practise self-denial. And thus, however dark the night, you will at least be saved from sinking in the quagmire of materialism and sensuality.

"But this is not enough. A higher help is needed; and in your darkest hour a friend is near at hand ready to help.

"I remember a very good and very learned man telling me that, in a season of illness, the idea of the existence of all created things passed away from him: his mind became a blank; there was nothing he could lay hold of. Yes, there was one idea left; it was that of his Maker as his Father. To this he clung, and his poor dark mind had peace and rest.

"And so do you, my dear young friends. If you enter a land of doubt and thick darkness,—the very ground sinking beneath your feet; the staff on which you had leant, and hoped to lean safely all your life crumbling in your hand,—remember that He, your God and Father, is near to you; not impassive or unmindful of you; but ready to afford you aid, if you will duly seek it. He has told us that He is 'nigh unto all them that call upon Him, to all that call upon Him in truth.' Remember this condition, it must be '*in truth*' that you seek His aid, with the earnest and sincere resolve to follow His guidance whithersoever it will lead you.

"When you walk in darkness, and there is no light, make Him your refuge. Thus will light spring up. Peace will return. You will again walk on sure and firm ground—aye, far surer and firmer than any ground you ever trod upon before."

MORAL COURAGE.

This is what is most needed on the part of Indian reformers. They

"See the right, approve it, too;
Condemn the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue."

The Rev. W. Stevenson thus shows the futility of any hope of change, if left to a general movement:—

"But perhaps it is acknowledged by the association that they too are bound by the evil customs which they wish to see abolished, and are fol-

lowing practices which they know to be wrong, and desire to put an end to. The evil customs and practices pervade the whole society of which they form a part, and they do not profess to be exempt from them. But they want to have them reformed,—only they must have every body reformed all at once, the whole society ought to make one simultaneous movement and at one grand moment throw off the yoke together. So they must wait till every one is ready, none must make any step before all the rest; the whole community must as one body achieve the reform, the individual must just remain quiet until he finds himself free. You observe that in this case too the would-be reformers do not find it necessary to set about reforming themselves; it is society they are anxious to operate on; for themselves first and chiefly they do not feel called upon to undertake the unpleasant task. If only society could be put right! if by a stroke of some magic wand all its evil customs and practices could be made to disappear, and a new constitution take their place, what a glorious change it would be for the enlightened! They are dissatisfied with the present state of things and would like to see them improved. If only society could be put right! But there's the difficulty, a difficulty we can see no happy way of getting over. If the individuals are all to remain the same, it is beyond our weak powers to see how the society is to be changed. For we don't know of any society which is not composed of individuals; and to make the whole move while every part remains where it was, does not appear an easy task. Given the problem:—how to make a railway train pass from Madras to Bangalore, while every wheel stands still—it will puzzle most to find a solution."

Mill, in his book "On Liberty," describes "the masses" as "collective mediocrity." "The initiation of all wise or noble things," he says, "comes, and must come, from individuals—generally at first from some one individual. The honour and glory of the average man is that he is capable of following that initiation; that he can respond internally to wise and noble things, and be led to them with his eyes open...In this age, the mere example of nonconformity, the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom, is itself a service."

The great question is, how is moral courage to be attained? An American writer on *True Success in Life*, says:—

"Accustom yourselves not to depend chiefly on others, but to make decisions of your own; to consider deliberately each practical question that arises, and then come to a positive determination on it, if this be possible. Every instance in which you say resolutely, No! to a seductive temptation; every time that you say firmly, Yes! to the call of self-denying duty; every time that you resist the urgency of the inclination that would deter you from an arduous course of action that your judgment and conscience deliberately approve; every time that in the midst of perplexities you can so concentrate your force of mind as to decide on the thing to be done without vacillation or delay, you will have gained somewhat in true executive power. Without the power of deciding with due promptness, and of adhering firmly to your decisions when they have been made, it will be in vain to expect that you will act in life with any considerable success."

"Nothing will go right unless you dare to be singular. Every thing will be wrong when a man has not learnt—and the sooner you learn it the better for your lives here and yonder—the great art of saying 'No.'"

The examples of moral courage recorded in history may be studied with great advantage. Socrates calmly drank the cup of poison, when presented to him. The grand words of Martin Luther are well known. When warned of the danger to his life incurred by attending the Diet, he said, "I am determined to enter the city though as many devils should oppose me as there are tiles upon all the houses at Worms." The most sublime illustration of moral courage is afforded by Jesus Christ. Fully aware of the mockery, sufferings, and cruel death that awaited Him, He "stedfastly set His face to go to Jerusalem."

But it must be confessed that the foregoing means are in themselves insufficient. A good English writer has the following remarks:—

"How many times since you were a boy have you said, 'Now I am determined that I will never do that again. I have flung away opportunities. I have played the fool and erred exceedingly—but I now turn over a new leaf!' Yes, and you have turned it—and if I might go on with the metaphor, the first gust of passion or temptation has blown the leaf back again, and the old page has been spread before you once more just as it used to be. The history of individual souls and the tragedy of the world's history recurring in every age, in which the noblest beginnings lead to disastrous ends, and each new star of promise that rises on the horizon leads men unto quagmires and sets in blood, sufficiently show how futile the attempt in our own strength to overcome and expel the evils that are rooted in our nature.

"Moralists may preach 'Unless above himself he can erect himself, how mean a thing is man,' but all the preaching in the world is of no avail. The task is an impossibility. The stream cannot rise above its source, nor be purified in its flow, if bitter waters come from the fountain. 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?' There is no power in human nature to cast off this clinging self. As in the awful vision of the poet, the serpent is grown into the man. The will is feeble for good, the conscience sits like a discrowned king issuing empty mandates, while all his realm is up in rebellion, and treats his proclamations as so much waste paper. How can a man remake himself? how cast off his own nature? The means at his disposal need themselves to be cleansed, for themselves are tainted. It is the old story—who will keep the keepers?—who will heal the sick physicians?"

We are like little children walking along a rugged and difficult road. Left to ourselves, we shall most certainly stumble and fall. Our only hope is in keeping hold of our heavenly Father's hand. It is outstretched towards us, and we may at once obtain His aid. Thus upheld, we shall have strength to perform every duty and resist every temptation. "Hold Thou me up and I shall be safe."

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The foregoing pages present only a slight sketch of INDIA'S NEEDS. The subject would require volumes to consider it fully.

As Sir Madhava Rao has pointed out, India suffers chiefly from "self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils." It is upon the remedy of these, far more than upon political changes, that the welfare of the people depends.

Mr. S. M. Hossain, of Lucknow, thus enforces the same truth :—

"I have come to the conclusion that all the forces above referred to (legislation, encouragement of commerce, improved methods of agriculture, education, local self-government, emigration) would remain in equilibrium, and would produce no resultant to elevate the material wealth of the country, unless some other forces were applied, and those other forces can be nothing else but *individual energy* and *native capital*."*

Franklin says that "we complain of the taxes imposed on us by Government; but we are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly." *Self-help* is one of the duties which most requires to be urged everywhere.

Indian patriots may lament over the supposed decadence of their country; but never was she more civilized or richer than at present—never were her prospects brighter. Milton's noble words have been applied by Justice Cunningham to the people of India :—

"Methinks I see in my mind a mighty and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her locks. Methinks I see her, as an eagle, renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unsealing her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole tribe of timorous and flocking birds, those who love the twilight flutter about amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of scorn."

It would be best for England and India to remain in friendly alliance, each members of a mighty, self-governing Confederation; but even if not, the eloquent words of Justice Cunningham will, we trust, be realized :—

"Whenever it is fated that we are again to part company, and history writes *fait* upon the British Raj, she will record how the English found India impoverished and left her opulent; found her the home of ignorance and superstition, placed the sacred torch of knowledge in her hand; found her the prey of the untamed forces of nature, turned these very forces to enrich and embellish her; found her the monopoly of a despotic few, left her the common heritage of all; found her a house

* *Our Difficulties and Wants in the Path of the Progress of India.*

divided against itself, and the prey of the first comer, left her harmonious and tranquil; found her a mere congeries of petty tyrannies, with no principle but mutual distrust and no policy but mutual extermination; left her a grand consolidated empire, with justice for its base and the common happiness of all its guiding star."

As already mentioned, India's greatest need is a purer faith.

Her natural sun makes her day one of surpassing splendour, but she has long been enveloped in spiritual night, deepening since she left the common Aryan home. A change, however, is going on. The light of the Sun of righteousness reddens in the horizon, and it will shine more and more unto the perfect day. India will yet cast her idols to the moles and to the bats; the temples of Vishnu and Siva will yet be as deserted as those of Jupiter and Minerva in Europe; all her many nations, recognising each other as brethren, will kneel together at the same footstool, and offer the same grand old prayer, beginning, "Our Father which art in heaven."

The writer concludes with a petition in which he wishes the reader could heartily join:—

O God, who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and didst send Thy blessed Son to preach peace to them that are afar off, and to them that are nigh: Grant that all the people of this land may feel after Thee and find Thee, and hasten, O heavenly Father, the fulfilment of Thy promise, to pour out Thy Spirit upon all flesh, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

THE END.

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